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A
REVIEW AND ANALYSIS
OF
BISHOP BULL'S EXPOSITION
OF
THE
DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION,

PRINTED BY RICHARD CRUTTWELL,
ST. JAMES'S-STREET, BATH.

A
REVIEW AND ANALYSIS
OF
BISHOP BULL'S EXPOSITION
OF THE
DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION,
By ROBERT NELSON, Esq;
EXTRACTED FROM HIS LIFE OF BISHOP BULL.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
BISHOP BULL'S LETTER TO MR. NELSON,
ON THE
Corruptions of the Church of Rome.
TOGETHER WITH
BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR'S SERMON,
ENTITLED
FIDES FORMATA; OR FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

BATH:
PRINTED BY RICHARD CRUTTWELL;
AND SOLD BY
RIVINGTONS', ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE,
AND HATCHARDS', PICCADILLY, LONDON,
1827.

As a preservative of your own minds from the contagion of the antinomian folly, I would recommend the *Harmonia Apostolica* of my illustrious predecessor, Bishop Bull.

(*Bishop Horsley's Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, p. 31.*)

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publication of the following extracts from Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, containing a review and analysis of the Bishop's exposition of the doctrine of Justification in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, his *Examen Censuræ*, and *Apologia pro Harmonia*, originated from a desire to vindicate the memory of our learned and excellent defender of the great doctrines of Christianity from the aspersions of the Archdeacon of Ely, who, in the Appendix to his Charge lately published, does not scruple to say, that "he never met with any Protestant writer
" (at least of any eminence), who tampered

“ in so dangerous a manner with the strictness of the divine law, as Bishop Bull;” stigmatizing his mode of reasoning as “fundamentally erroneous, and manifestly absurd;” and his opinions as “exactly symbolizing with the Romanists, and completely and radically at issue with the advocates of the Reformation.”

If the Archdeacon be not wholly mistaken, the University of Oxford must have been, when they bestowed on Dr. Bull their highest honours long after the publication of his *Harmonia Apostolica*, for “a perpetual testimony of their esteem for a person of his merits;” and also when they re-published his *Harmonia Apostolica*, with his whole works.

On the subject of Justification the Archdeacon will find his objections anticipated and refuted by that great ornament of his country, and honour to the Church of England, Mr.

Nelson, in his review and analysis of Bishop Bull's arguments ; and by the pious eloquence of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his Sermon on the doctrine of Justification.

The accusation of symbolizing with the Romanists may be safely left to a comparison of this charge with Bishop Bull's tract on the Corruptions of the Church of Rome. And to the censure of tampering with the strictness of the *divine law* may be opposed Bishop Horsley's recommendation of the *Harmonia Apostolica*, as "a preservative from the "contagion of *antinomian* folly." As a powerful antidote to the antinomian principles opposed by Bishop Bull, Cudworth's incomparable Sermon, preached before the House of Commons in 1647, and lately reprinted, cannot be too strongly recommended.

T. SARUM.

Bath, April 12, 1827.

Shortly will be published,

A TRACT, ENTITLED

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ONLY:

IN WHAT IT CONSISTS, TO WHAT INSTITUTION IT
BELONGS, AND WHAT RELATION IT BEARS TO

FINAL JUSTIFICATION:

*Shewn from the Scriptures, from Cranmer and Hooker,
and from the Homilies, Articles, and Liturgy, of
the Church of England:*

IN ILLUSTRATION AND DEFENCE OF

BISHOP BULL'S HARMONIA APOSTOLICA.

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INTRODUCTION.



It must be owned that the lives of great and excellent men require skilful and faithful pens; that the exactness and truth of their characters may be adorned with all purity, force, and propriety of style; and that the writer should be animated with a portion of that genius which made the person, he draws for the knowledge and imitation of posterity, famous in his generation. But the reputation of our author hath received so great a brightness from his own pen, that it needs no auxiliary light to increase its lustre; and his character is so secure from his own works, the immortal monuments of his true worth, that I

am the less concerned for my own inability to embalm his memory ; especially since I hope the weight and importance of the matter, will make some amends for those defects that may arise from the manner of handling it.

What I apprehend will carry this Life to a greater length than I at first imagined, is the history of those important controversies, in which our learned author was engaged ; and the abstract of those fundamental doctrines, which he hath, with great perspicuity of style and matter, delivered in the language of the learned. The particulars that relate to the first, certainly come in as a part of his Life ; and the other was necessary to be attempted, that those readers, whose knowledge is confined to their own language, might have a truer notion of the capacity and genius of that reverend Prelate, whose Life I am about to write, and therefore I hope I have a just title to their pardon for the length of it. And so beseeching God to enable me to finish what I begin in his name, and dedicate to his honour and glory, I shall proceed to the subject I have undertaken.

Dr. GEORGE BULL, the late learned Bishop of St. David's, was born in the parish of St. Cuthbert at Wells, in the county of Somerset, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1634, being the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin.

When he was fit to receive the first rudiments of learning, he was placed in a grammar-school at Wells, where he continued not long; but by the care of his guardians was, to great advantage, removed to the free school of Tiverton in Devonshire, of the greatest note of any in the west of England.

Thus young [*in the fourteenth year of his age*] was Mr. Bull removed from the free school of Tiverton to Exeter college in Oxford, where he was entered a Commoner the tenth day of July, 1648.

He was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr. Skinner, the ejected Bishop of Oxford, in 1655, being then one and twenty; upon which he settled at St. George's, near Bristol, from which place his constant custom was to

make a journey once a year to the University of Oxford, where he remained about two months to enjoy the benefit and advantage of the public libraries.

The constant frame and temper of his mind was so truly devout, that he would frequently in the day-time, as occasion offered, use short prayers and ejaculations, the natural breathings of pious souls; and when he was sitting in silence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often, with an inexpressible air of great seriousness, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and sometimes drop tears. And as a farther evidence of this true Christian frame of spirit, he took great delight in discoursing of the things of God, particularly of his love and mercy in the daily instances of his watchful providence over poor mankind, and the right use that ought to be made of it. He would often recount to those he conversed with, the wonders of divine goodness already vouchsafed to himself and his friends; their

happy and amazing escapes out of several sorts of danger, their unexpected good success, not without rejoicing in the Lord ; and inviting others to tell what God had done for them ; of which he would make a noble use by way of religious inference and exhortation, till he made the hearts of his hearers burn within them. And, indeed, they who can pass all the hours of their conversation, which take up so great a part of their lives, without making any reflections of this nature, for fear of the lash of some scoffing wits, who are apt to call it canting, appear to me to want that sense of a Deity upon their minds, which is necessary to make them serious. I am sure in all other cases, where our heads and hearts are engaged, we naturally discover it by our tongues ; for *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh* ; and it is difficult not to run into such discourse as is ready prepared for us by the constant application of our thoughts. And therefore I think we may safely conclude, that whoever maketh religion his main business, and loveth God above all, cannot be better entertained in conversation than by

such topics, which tend to cultivate and promote piety, and every thing that is praiseworthy; neither will such an one readily omit any reasonable occasion that offers itself to advance and instil the sense of religion into the minds of others.

While Mr. Bull was at Llandaff, upon the nomination of Bishop Fell, who thought it a shame that such a man should be suffered to lie any longer in obscurity, without any public notice taken of, or character conferred upon him, it was moved in a full Convocation at Oxford, by the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Jane, That as an acknowledgment of the singular honour done that University, and of the lasting service done to the whole church, by Mr. George Bull, through his excellent book of *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, lately printed and published among them; and for a perpetual testimony of their esteem and favour for a person of his merits, he should be admitted presently to the degree and title of a Doctor in Divinity, notwithstanding that he

had never taken any academical degree, not so much as in Arts. To which the Convocation of that learned body most readily consented, not being able to refuse, to one who had so admirably defended the ancient doctors of the Catholic church, an honorary title, which had been deserved by him on more than one account; and the conferring whereof would be no less honourable to themselves than him, by allowing him a name in their *Fasti*, among the modern doctors of the Anglican church, which the universal suffrage of the learned world must even, without this their authentic declaration, have advanced him unto. Whereupon the Bishop writ a letter, to thank Mr. Bull for the noble present he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the same time with the honour which the University designed him: and the Professor writ also another letter to him, giving him an account of what had passed in Convocation, with respect to him, in consideration of his great and eminent service for the church by his last book; and pressing him to come therefore to Oxford, that he

might there receive the tokens of their esteem, and be admitted to the highest degree of honour, that was in their power to confer on any. Mr. Bull received these letters at Llandaff, where he had just taken possession of the archdeaconry, which Archbishop Sancroft had bestowed upon him ; whereupon he came to Oxford about the beginning of July, that he might be present at the Act, in order for perfecting the said degree ; and upon the tenth of the said month was created Doctor, in the year MDCLXXXVI, without the payment of the usual fees.

Amidst all those extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, it never appeared that he over-valued himself, or despised others. For though his natural endowments were of no ordinary size, and were wonderfully improved by study and application, yet his great learning was tempered with that modest and humble opinion of it, that it thereby shined with greater lustre. He abounded in works of charity, even beyond his ability ; and where-

ever he met with misery and want, they sufficiently endeared the object. The glory of God, and the good of his neighbour, were always uppermost in his thoughts. His actions were no less instructive than his conversation; for his exact knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive Fathers of the Church, had so effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, and entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, simplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety of the primitive Christians. During his sickness, his admirable patience under exquisite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident, that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illness; and he entertained those that attended him with such beautiful and lively descriptions of religion and another world, as if he had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed. In short, *he lived the life of the righteous, and his latter end was like his.*

The following is the confession of his faith, which he had made about four and thirty years before to all the world, and to which he now adhered at his death :

“ I most firmly believe, said he, that as I
“ yield a stedfast assent to the Gospel of
“ Christ, and as I work out true repentance
“ by that faith, shaking off, by the grace of
“ God, the yoke of every deadly sin, and in
“ earnest devoting myself to the observation
“ of his evangelical law; I shall obtain by the
“ sovereign mercy of God the Father, for the
“ merits only of Jesus Christ his Son, and my
“ Lord and Saviour, who offered up himself
“ unto the Father a truly expiatory sacrifice
“ for my sins, and for the sins of the whole
“ world, the full remission of all my past sins,
“ be they never so many and great. But
“ then I have no otherwise any confidence of
“ my sins being forgiven me, or of my being
“ in a state of grace and salvation, but as by
“ a serious examination of my conscience,
“ made according to the rule of the Gospel,
“ there shall be evidence of the sincerity of
“ my faith and repentance. And I believe,

“ moreover, that while I bring forth fruits
“ worthy of faith and repentance, and while I
“ not only abstain from those crimes, which,
“ according to the Gospel, exclude a man
“ from heaven, but do diligently likewise ex-
“ ercise myself in good works, both those of
“ piety towards God, and those of charity to-
“ wards my neighbour; so long I may pre-
“ serve the grace that is given me, of remission
“ and justification : and that if I *die in this*
“ *state*, I am in the way of obtaining by it
“ the mercy of God, and eternal life and sal-
“ vation for the sake of Jesus Christ. I be-
“ lieve yet that I may fall away; and after
“ having received the Holy Ghost, may, as
“ our Church speaketh, depart from grace:
“ and that therefore I ought to work out my
“ salvation *with fear and trembling*. I believe
“ also, that in the Gospel there is pardon
“ promised to all that fall, let it be never so
“ often, so that they do, before their death,
“ *renew* their repentance, and do again their
“ first works; but then there is not any where
“ promised to them either space of life, or
“ grace, that they may repent. I believe

“there is given to some persons a certain
“*extraordinary* grace, according to the good
“pleasure of God; but I account it the
“greatest madness, for any one therefore to
“presume upon such a grace, or to challenge
“ought for himself, beyond the promises of
“God which are made in the Gospel. And
“lastly, it is my firm belief, that throughout
“the whole course of my salvation, from the
“very first setting out to the end thereof,
“the grace and assistance of God’s Spirit is
“absolutely necessary: and that I never have
“done, and never can do, any spiritual good
“without Christ, is my full and certain
“persuasion.”*

The evening before he departed, his son-in-law, Mr. Archdeacon Stephens, arrived from a great journey, upon the news he received of his dangerous illness. The Bishop embraced him with great satisfaction, when he raised himself up in his bed to give him his blessing. When Mr. Stephens expressed his

* Apolog. pro Harmonia, p. 12, fol.

great sorrow and concern, to find him in so great misery by the complaints he made, he told him, “he had endured a great deal, that
“he did not think he had so much strength
“of nature, but that now it was near being
“spent, and that in God’s good time he
“should be delivered.” And when Mr. Stephens, in order to support him, urged that his reward would be great in heaven, the good Bishop replied, “My trust is in God, through
“the merits of Christ.”

REVIEW AND ANALYSIS, ETC.

IN the year 1669, he first printed that excellent piece, his *Apostolical Harmony*, &c.* which was begun by him when but young, with a view of settling peace in the church, upon a point of the greatest importance to all its members. This book he dedicated to his diocesan the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. William Nicholson, a very proper judge and patron, who had very much also encouraged and supported him in this work ; for he was

* *Harmonia Apostolica seu binæ dissertationes quarum in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de Justificatione ex operibus explanatur ac defenditur ; in posteriore consensus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonstratur, &c.*

not willing, but with the approbation and direction of his superior under God, to adventure into the world upon an undertaking so difficult and hazardous as this did appear. And since this treatise tendeth so much to clear the doctrine of the Apostles in the *fundamental point* of our salvation, and to shew the exact harmony betwixt them, as to the *manner* of obtaining it by Christ; and will also be of no small use for the reading St. Paul's Epistles with understanding; I shall beg leave to lay before the reader a distinct plan of the whole; as likewise the causes of writing it, and the treatment and success it met with, and the several batteries that have been raised against it; that they that are otherwise minded, may at least have no reason to complain, as if they were not fairly represented.

Though this piece was not printed till the year aforesaid, yet it appeareth to have been written* eight or nine years before; whereby the first rise and design of it will be more clearly manifest, than it could have been, had

* *Apologia pro Harmonia*, &c. sect. 8, n. 5.

we not known in what a notable juncture of our affairs the same was composed. For there having been, during the unhappy times of the great rebellion, a vast multitude of books written upon the subject of *justification*, by the hot men of the several parties, some of whom in treating of it leaned too much to popery or judaism, others to antinomianism and libertinism, some again to pelagianism and socinianism, and others, lastly, to manichæism and fatalism ; all very dangerous errors : and abundance of learned sophistry having been used in perplexing the plain and natural sense of the divinely inspired writers ; and several hypotheses moreover invented purely to serve a turn, which did but the more still obscure what they pretended to clear up, and set at a wider distance those whom they laboured to reconcile by their strained and metaphysical subtleties ; they not only disagreeing about what was meant by *justification*, but even by *faith* and by *works*, and indeed about every term that is made use of either by St. Paul or by St. James when they speak to this point : and so

feigning one apostle to write concerning a *first*, and the other concerning a *second*, justification ; or else one concerning a justification before *men* only, and the other concerning the same before *God* ; one concerning a *true*, the other concerning a *false*, faith ; with a multitude of other groundless inventions, utterly foreign to the minds of both the said apostles, and many foolish contests having been startled about words, that could have no other end but to raise a dust ; there could nothing come forth more seasonably, if well done, than a treatise of this nature.

Wherefore there having been such a fierce contention raised concerning this article, by the writers of controversy, for about twenty years of confusion in church and state, not to mention what had passed before that time in other countries ; our author having been then about five years in holy orders, according to the Church of England, when by the restoration of the right heir to sit on the throne of his father, the church with him was restored to her former rights ; though he then wanted above three years of thirty, thought

it, however, time for him now to fix his principles, by going up to the very source, and by taking a fair review, according to the holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity, of such a point, as had evidently contributed to several great revolutions, not only in the church, but also in the kingdoms* and states of the world; and might, he thought, yet contribute to more: and a point also which was of the utmost consequence to be rightly understood for the guidance of conscience.

To the consideration of which he was still in a more particular manner engaged by certain circumstances of life; for among the first flock that was committed to his charge at St. George's near Bristol, there were not a few wandering sheep, which had been misled into strange paths, through their not understanding the terms of the evangelical covenant, and by the unwarrantable confidence of false intruding shepherds were in the extremest danger of being lost. For the reduction of these he preached a sermon against the pre-

* Vid. Tull. Epist. ded. ad Justifi. Pauli, et Sleidan. Com. &c.

vailing antinomian opinions, upon St. James ii. 24, which, leading him gradually to a deeper enquiry into this matter, was, as I gather from his premonition to the reader, the first occasion of this discourse.

Whereupon he read over the New Testament, but more especially the Epistles, with this view, consulting the ablest commentators as he went along, and weighing their arguments indifferently, without respect to the party, or communion they lived in. And still, for farther satisfaction of what was believed by the primitive Christians, in this great concern for obtaining a title to eternal happiness, he omitted not to consult the best writers of antiquity and venerable lights of the church. With the same view was the Liturgy, the Articles, and the Homilies of our church read by him; and diligently compared with their established rule, the *written word of God*, together with the truly ancient and catholic interpretations thereof. This let him into several other controversies, as depending upon this, and particularly obliged him to a survey of the times of reformation,

and of the methods that were then taken both at home and abroad, as also of the principle characters of the first reformers; and being thus qualified, he set himself thoroughly to re-examine this cause, which gave birth to the Reformation.

Upon this review then of the controversy, as it stood both betwixt Papists and Protestants, and between Protestants one among another, he, for his own satisfaction, digested under proper places or heads all that he could find material in any of them, relating to this evangelical dispensation. And this he did not only that he might form a right judgment upon them, but that he might be more capable of discharging the duty of his place, and of bringing in some others likewise to the discernment and acknowledgment of the truth; which was hereby made so very clear to him.

But being sensible that too much had been written in English upon this subject; and that most of what was written was to little purpose, except to divide and distract people's minds; he therefore drew up in Latin a short *Harmony of the Apostles* as to this head,

that it might be thoroughly considered by the men of learning and capacity, reasonably supposing, that if they were set right in this great article, it would be more easily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. For this end, he submitted his performance to the censure of his learned friends, and (as in duty he thought himself chiefly bound) particularly to his worthy diocesan; to which at length, after mature deliberation upon the whole, and thinking it over and over again many times, he put his last hand, being then in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and sent it abroad into the world with their approbation, that it might serve as a manuduction to the candidates of divinity, who were to be set apart to instruct others.

This book consisteth of two parts or dissertations : the first of these explaineth and defendeth the doctrine of St. James ; and the other clearly, I think, demonstrates the agreement and harmony of St. Paul with him, in this fundamental point of our faith and hope. But more particularly his aim and design in the *first dissertation* is to shew, “ That good
“ works which proceed from faith, and are

“ conjoined with faith, are a necessary condition required from us by God, to the end that by the new and evangelical covenant obtained by and sealed in the blood of Christ the Mediator of it, we may be justified according to his free and unmerited grace.” For it is observable, that he every where throughout this treatise openly renounceth all pretence to any manner of merit of our own works ; even so far as scarce to acknowledge that person for a Christian who should advance or defend merit, properly so called ; and nothing can indeed be more plain, than that in the whole affair of our salvation, and process of divine justification, he attributeth all to the meritorious obedience of the holy Jesus, as the blessed author and finisher of it. Of which obedience, his most precious death is, by our most excellent Harmonist, declared to be the consummation and utmost completion : and to it are here ascribed the very greatest and highest things, that it was even possible for him to express. More particularly, Of this meritorious obedience of Christ for us sinners, he plainly and roundly says,

that this *alone* hath given satisfaction to the divine justice ; that this alone rendereth the most holy and most righteous God propitious to sinful men ; and that this alone is the efficacious cause of God's promising and offering us pardon and eternal life upon so very reasonable and equitable a condition, as in the Gospel is set forth. And he constantly moreover teacheth, both in the very treatise and in the apology for it, " That no man can, " without divine grace, and the assistance of " the Holy Spirit, as flowing forth from the " precious side of the crucified Jesus, perform " the condition of the Gospel covenant." And, in a word, he most severely anathematizes the Pelagian heresy, as it is received by the Socinians and others, for derogating from the grace of God, and ascribing too much to the power of man in his fallen estate : and most frequently celebrates the praise of this divine grace so perfectly according to the mind of St. Paul, and the declaration of the Church of England, both in her Articles and Homilies, that it may well be doubted whether any one can do it more.

But notwithstanding all this caution of his, in the treating of this point, that had been rendered so abstruse, more by the laborious disputations of divines, than by the nature of the thing itself, or of the revelation concerning it; there was presently no small alarm both *in* the church and *out* of it, from Mr. Bull's performance, as if the Church of England and the whole Protestant religion were by it in danger. For his departing herein from the private opinions of some doctors of our church, though in obedience to her rule, was by several interpreted for no less than a departing from the faith by her delivered; and his method of reconciling the *two apostles of our Lord*, how plain soever in itself, could not be made so plain, but that many being zealously affected for the names of Luther and Calvin, whom they honoured as the *two apostles of the Reformation*, would be ready to take offence at it; as the event indeed proved.

Upon an impartial enquiry into the grounds of this offence taken, it evidently appeared, that this was the very chief stone of stumbling,

viz. the honour of the *first reformers*. And it seemeth, moreover, that this essay for union, by taking the *middle way*, could not please any of those zealous gentlemen, who never can think themselves safe enough from one extreme, without they run into the other. Some there were more wise and learned than the rest, who yet approved it not, that they might not appear guilty of innovating, as they called it. And it could not be digested by them, either because it was not at first so very perfectly understood by several of our own divines, any more than by the dissenters from our communion, as most of the Presbyterians, and many Independents and Anabaptists; or else because the prejudices which a great many worthy persons among us had sucked in from the narrow systems of *modern divinity*, and who had, during the great rebellion in church and state, been educated in the predestinarian and antinomian notions, were too strong for them entirely to overcome, even with the help of the clearest light.

Hence in the same year there arose in the church no small contention, whether this in-

terpretation of Scripture were conformable to the Articles of Religion, and the Homily of Justification therein referred to ; some maintained with our author that it was ; some doubted about it ; and others downright denied it, and condemned it as heretical. There was many a hard censure passed upon the book and the author for some time, which is not to be wondered at ; yea, there were not wanting then even men of some eminence in our church, who with all their might opposed him, probably out of a well-meant zeal, and would certainly have overwhelmed him and his doctrine, had it been possible.

But such, it appears, was the strength and evidence of his arguments, after the severest examination that could be made of them, as he daily won more and more friends to his side ; and the greatness of the opposition against him did but the more contribute to establish the truth, among all the sober and candid enquirers after it ; which could be only opposed, because not rightly apprehended and stated. And how successfully he hath done this, I shall leave the reader to consider, not

from the imperfect abstract which is here given, but from the effects they have manifestly produced, and that general conviction which hath commonly followed the *Harmony* itself, with the *Apology* for it. Some of the effects I may have hereafter occasion to mention : so that it shall here suffice to observe, in short, that they of the English clergy, who were the least favourable to it, became the greatest promoters of it, while by all their endeavours to suppress it, they made it effectually to spread the more, when the matter came to be duly and impartially scanned, without those metaphysical niceties which have only served to perplex a cause that might be understood without them. The opinion of some private doctors was at this time artfully cried up for the *judgment of the Church of England*; and such an exposition was given to some of her Articles, even against her own authentic interpretation of them, as might set her at a still greater distance from the church of Rome.

The best of it is, this contention was of no long continuance : for not long after this treatise was printed, and received with much

applause on one side, and contradiction on the other, the sense of the Church of England, as it is founded upon the word of God, came to be cleared up, by the care and diligence of those who were excited hereby, much better than ever it had been before: and by the sober manner of treating this controversy in both these dissertations, and the author's most serious protestation and appeal to heaven, it pleased God to cool, by degrees, the minds of some, which had been heated about this matter over-much, through the intemperance of a truly laudable concern for the victory of faith: and to win over others entirely to the acknowledgment of the truth, which is according to righteousness and godliness, who had been before but too averse to it, out of jealousy of making void the Gospel of Christ, and of setting up instead thereof a certain mixture of Judaism and Christianity; for so this was misrepresented to be. But the vanity of the charge, as also that of popery, was soon made evident to as many as would be content to read with their own eyes, which many did labour to affright them from.

In the year 1670, there were some animadversions of a learned divine made upon this treatise ; which he, concealing his name, communicated in manuscript to several of the bishops, at the same time stirring them up by letter to make use of their apostolical authority in thundering out their anathemas against the doctrines here maintained, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the Church of England, and of all other reformed churches ; who was quickly seconded in this by some others partly known, and partly unknown, of whom some that understood but little of the matter, were, as it often happens, the hottest of all against him, and were for pushing things to the utmost extremity ; but moderate counsels prevailed for the most part ; and the governors of the church were so wise as not to intermeddle farther in this affair, than to keep the peace of the church committed to them.

There was indeed one great and good bishop, who, for reasons I am not well acquainted with, proceeded much farther than any of the rest of his order. This was Dr.

Morley, bishop of Winchester, who, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, seems to have been utterly against the reviving a debate of this kind at all, upon any pretence whatsoever, and not to have been so well satisfied as some of his brethren, with this performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to signalize himself, and whose youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for so doing, this learned bishop, in a pastoral charge to the clergy of his diocese, at his visitation, thought fit to warn them against intruding too rashly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching according to it. Some heads of houses in the two Universities were also of the bishop's mind: and there were some tutors, too, that thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils from the danger of what appeared to them an innovation in the church. Dr. Barlow and Dr. Tully were among the most zealous to oppose the pacific method for reconciling the different systems about attaining salvation, by their rigid adhe-

rence to certain tenets by them formerly imbibed, and to some scholastic terms unsupported either by Scripture or antiquity. But though the first of these read public lectures against the *Harmonia Apostolica* from the divinity-chair; and though the other made it his business to answer it at large from the press; yet it failed not to make its way through all opposition and contradiction, and to gain continually more and more ground, as it came hereby to be more read and considered. And so in a very few years the strife ceased; forasmuch as the victory was at last so complete, as none were found able to rally their forces in this cause against our judicious harmonizer. This is what is known to have passed within the church as to the establishment of the peace thereof in this point, even as it is at this day. As to what passed without in relation to it, there is but little to be said here; perhaps there may somewhat occur in the progress of this account, which will give sufficient satisfaction. However, the weapons of them within, and those without, are the very same; and by knowing the strength of

the one, we cannot be strangers to that of the other.

The author of the *Animadversions* before mentioned, commonly cited under the name of the *Censura*, was the son of a very learned Presbyterian, and strictly educated in those distinguishing doctrines which had lately been ratified by the Westminster Assembly. And the very first man that publicly appeared in print for these doctrines, against the book of the *Apostolical Harmony*, was Mr. Joseph Truman, a non-conformist minister, after whom came out Dr. Tully's answer to it. And last of all, Mr. John Tombes of Bewdley, a famous Anabaptist preacher, on the part of the dissenters, undertook the same cause; as if the very foundation of the Reformation were struck at by this attempt.

Now as the method of our author was always to seek truth at the fountain-head; whatever respect he might have for our first reformers, and some other great divines, both foreigners and natives, he could by no means take up with their authority, though never so pompously set off; but was for going directly

to the very originals themselves, and for consulting the most ancient and unexceptionable witnesses, where any difference might happen to arise concerning them. Accordingly he betakes himself in the very first place to the holy Scriptures; and here he prudently beginneth with that which is obvious and plain, rather than with that which is ambiguous and obscure: and so findeth in the simplicity of St. James, a key to the *Δυσνόητα* of St. Paul, those hard passages, of which St. Peter makes mention. At least there are such reasons for him to conclude that he hath found this key, as do bear the greatest resemblance of truth; for there appeareth nothing more simple and easy to be understood than the plain proposition of St. James, “That by deeds a man
“is justified, or that just works declare a man
“just, and not his faith only, let it be never
“so right and orthodox.”* It is also that declaration of St. Paul himself, which he made at Antioch, that is by some of our learned men looked upon as the sum and substance of the whole Gospel: “He thereby testifying,

* Chap. ii.

“that through Christ alone we are to expect
 “justification and remission of sins; and con-
 “sequently, that by our submission to the
 “Gospel of Christ, not to the Law of Moses,
 “we are acquitted by him, and placed in the
 “number of the righteous.”*

And to make this yet more plain, he states and defends the proper sense of the word *δικαιοῦν*, against the learned Grotius; vindicating herein our translators, by whom it is rightly rendered, *to justify*. And here, by many testimonies, both out of the Old and New Testament, he proveth, that it must needs signify such an act of God as is properly *judicial*; whereby he acquitteth the person accused, and by the law of grace in Christ, receiveth such an one to his favour, as if he were innocent, and perfectly just. So that the *principal* cause of such justification is, in the author's words, *mera et gratuita Dei Patris misericordia*; the mere and free grace of God the Father: the *meritorious* cause of it is the obedience of Christ, both *active* and *passive*. And works of righteousness are,

* Acts xiii. 38, 39.

according to him, not properly any cause at all thereof, but merely a condition, *sine qua non*, as the Schools love to speak, by God required in the evangelical covenant. This observation he draweth from the use of the particle $\epsilon\zeta$, as it is applied by St. James to works, and by St. Paul to faith.

Having thus explained the proposition of this first dissertation, according to the mind of the apostle, he proceedeth next to establish the truth thereof by several arguments. The first of which is taken from the express testimony of holy Scripture ; the second, from the very notion itself of justification ; the third, from the nature of faith ; the fourth, from the proceedings of God in the day of judgment ; and the fifth, from the *implicit confession* of the very adversaries themselves to this doctrine.

Now under the first head, which is the *testimony of Scripture*, he hath two classes of texts, serving for confirmation of this doctrine, as before represented. The former is of those texts and passages that speak in general of good works, or of righteousness, as of a condition that tendeth to make us accepted of

God, through his grace. And of this kind there are abundance of very obvious ones in the Prophets, in the Gospels, and in the Epistles. So that every one that runneth may read how acceptable in the sight of God holiness is; and find that obedience is no less necessary than faith, to attain eternal life. The latter class is of those texts, in which some special works, as absolutely necessary to salvation or justification, are required of us by God. And of this sort, there are found also many clear and express passages, which one would think very sufficient fully to determine this matter. As, particularly, all those places deserve to be noted, which require *repentance* as a disposition, without which none is capable of obtaining the forgiveness of his sins from God: forasmuch as these so evidently refer to the *evangelical state*, as to deny the same, would be to deny the whole Gospel. Now under repentance, he will have to be comprehended these following good acts, viz. a true sorrow for sins past; an humiliation under the righteous hand of God; an hatred and detestation of sin; a confession of it; an

earnest supplication for divine grace and mercy ; the fear and love of God ; a ceasing from evil ; a firm purpose of new obedience ; restitution of what hath been unjustly gotten ; forgiveness of all them who may have trespassed against us ; and, lastly, works of beneficence and charity. Then he proveth after this, that there is the very same regard had always by God to faith and repentance, in the pardoning of a sinner. And farther, that the faith, whereof in the New Testament there are so great and glorious things pronounced, is not to be taken for a single Christian virtue or grace, but for the whole body and collection of the divine virtues and graces, or, for a life *according to the Gospel*. Nay, he sheweth, that when it is taken in that particular and *limited* sense, it is so far from being the *instrumental* cause of our justification, as some pretend, that it hath not so much as the chief place among those qualifications that concur to make us acceptable to God ; it being ranked, even by St. Paul himself, but in the third order, as inferior not only to charity, but even to hope. However, though faith be lesser

than charity in one respect; he readily yet grants that in another respect it is greater than charity, namely, as it is the foundation both of that, and of all the rest of the Christian virtues; and though faith doth not necessarily beget them, yet that it is apt, and in its own nature disposed, so to do. The sacred texts of the first class by him insisted upon for the proof of his proposition are these out of the Old Testament, Isa. i. 16, 17, 18, and Ezek. xxxiii. 14, 15, 16: and out of the New Testament, first the words of Christ himself, in John xiv. 21, 23, and xv. 14; and next to him, those of his apostles, in Acts x. 34, 35; 1 John i. 7; Heb. x. 8; 1 Cor. vi. 11; and 1 Peter i. 2; besides James ii. 24. So that an appeal is here made to the testimony of two witnesses under the Law, persons of a most eminent prophetic character; and to that of our Lord under the Gospel, accompanied not only with his disciples, Peter, James, and John, attesting the same truth, but also with the apostles of the uncircumcision, and most zealous assertors of Christian liberty. These texts are all clearly explained

and vindicated from the exceptions of certain metaphysical disputants : and to these are also added several other by the judicious annotator, that are no less strong. Those of the second class are above twenty, of which I shall only mention the first and the last, than which nothing can be well more decisive ; that Acts ii. 38, as in the name of the whole apostolical college, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them, and not of St. Peter only ; and this, Heb. xiii. 16, as the undoubted sense both of them and their brother Paul, and of the whole Christian church, both Hebrew and Gentile. Upon which he cites a saying of St. Chrysostom, *That without works of mercy, repentance is dead*, and illustrates it by the practice of the ancient church at their receiving of penitents. Which is confirmed also by his explication of Dan. iv. 27, according to the oriental custom of speech ; wherein he followeth Grotius, and prefers here the interpretation of the Seventy to our English translation, as more nearly approaching the propriety of the Chaldee original. For the Chaldee *pherak* is the same as the Hebrew

phadah, signifying to *redeem* : and the vulgar Latin agreeably renders it, *peccata tua elemosynis redime*. For as nothing is more certain than *that he shall have judgment without mercy, who hath shewed no mercy*; so on the other side it is equally certain, that *mercy rejoiceth against judgment*; and this rejoicing can never be without justification. As for the trifling distinction of *ante* and *ad*, in this controversy, by which it is pretended that works indeed of mercy and righteousness are necessary *before*, but not necessary unto, justification; it is here so baffled, both by the author and by his annotator, as there can scarce be a greater evidence of a bad cause than to have recourse to such poor shifts and slender evasions.

Under the next head his method to establish this doctrine, as explained and defended by the testimony aforesaid, is from the notion and nature of *justification*, as exercised in courts of *judicature*. Where he observeth, that in every judicial process there must be,

1. A judge, who is to pronounce the sentence;
2. A prisoner, or criminal, who is called to

his trial ; and, 3. A law, or rule, according to which the sentence must be pronounced, either for or against the prisoner at the bar. And in perfect analogy to this sort of proceeding in human courts, he takes notice, that if any man be said to be justified in the sight of God, whether it be by the works of the law, or by faith in Christ : in this case, the prisoner that pleadeth at the bar is man ; the judge is God ; and the rule according to which judgment is passed, is either the law of Moses on one side, or the law of Christ on the other, the which is otherwise called the *law of faith* ;* since no man can be judicially pronounced just, unless he be duly acquitted according to the rule of that law whereby he is judged, whether that law be the Mosaical or the Christian. Which latter he interpreteth to be the very moral law of God, as expounded and perfected by Christ on the mount, and expressly ratified by his own divine sanction, Matt. vii. 24, &c. and which is distinguished from the Mosaical law of ceremonial observances by several names, as

* Rom. iii. 17.

the *perfect law*, the *royal law*, the *law of liberty*, and the like ; meaning hereby that law which is perfective of human nature, is a law given us by the mouth of Christ our King, and is conducive to our true liberty ; that is, to a liberty not only from the yoke of Jewish ceremonies and ordinances, but also from the guilt and penalty of sin, and chiefly from the dominion and tyranny thereof in our flesh ; through the assistance of Christ's Spirit, helping herein our infirmities, that we may fulfil the same. Whereupon not only the loose principles of the antinomians, libertines, familists, and others of that sort, are by him deservedly exploded : but they who allow their principles, and yet reject their conclusion, are fairly warned of the dangerous consequences which they seem not to apprehend ; and the injudicious method of some protestant divines, in their controversies with the papists on this point, is taxed as it deserves.

The third argument, that *justification* is not by faith alone, in the strict acceptation of the word, is taken from the consideration of the very nature of *faith*, and of the several

acts that are generally assigned to it. And the sum of his argument is, that faith, *per se*, or considered as distinct from the rest of the Christian virtues, hath nothing in the nature of it, but what may well enough consist with an ungodly and unjustified person. For the acts of faith being by divines generally distributed into these three, 1. knowledge; 2. assent; and, 3. reliance; he handleth each of these distinctly, and clearly proveth, that not one of them hath a natural aptitude to justify a sinner, or a characteristic to distinguish a reprobate from a saint. And there being no act of faith nakedly and *per se* considered, to which justification is necessarily joined; since knowledge without practice, the assent of the mind without the love of the heart, and the reliance upon the promises of the Gospel without the sincere endeavour of performing the conditions of it, are of no worth before God; he concludeth that we ought firmly to believe, that no person can be justified in the sight of God by faith alone, (as it is strictly taken,) without the other virtues, which Christ hath required together

with it in order to that end. Particularly he sheweth, that the *knowledge* of the Gospel of Jesus Christ may be had by the wicked, as well as the most righteous. That there may be an *assent* also given to the truth of it by reprobates, yea even by devils ; and that, lastly, there may be a *reliance* on the promise of it, either conditional or absolute, by them that are certainly in a bad estate : nay, that it is not impossible to have *all faith*, and the very highest degrees thereof, and yet to remain still but in a doubtful and dangerous condition. And having very solidly treated this matter in all the several branches thereof, the reverend author telleth his reader what the true and Christian reliance by faith properly is, and wherein consisteth the only assurance of our salvation. This is fully argued from that famous passage in St. John's first Epistle, chap. iii. 19, 20, 21, which is brought also as a farther confirmation of his hypothesis, that seemeth hence to be no other than the catholic and apostolical explication of the divine economy towards man.

His fourth argument for the proof of it is

taken from the nature and manner of God's proceeding in the *day of judgment*. From which he thus reasoneth, that every one shall be judged by God in the world to come, after the same manner as he is in this present world justified by him : and that therefore since every one is to be judged at the last day by works, (according to Matth. xxv. 21, &c. compared with chap. xii. 36, 37; Rom. ii. 6, 13; 1 Cor. iii. 13, iv. 4, 5,) and not by faith alone, without works; every one that is justified by God in this life, must be also justified after the same manner, that is, by works, not by faith alone. For the judgment of God is the same in the one as in the other, and changeth not. This I take to be the sum of his argument; still understanding by *faith*, both here and throughout the whole controversy, that which is strictly and simply so called, and which is comprehended under all the three acts or degrees mentioned in the former argument. Now he takes here the *middle way*, after Vossius and Grotius, in explaining Christ's solemn and declarative justification of his saints at the great day ;

which ought well to be observed. For he will not allow this to be by works, either as to the *meritorious cause* of it, as some do hold; or as the *signs of faith*, as others do maintain; the one being in his opinion too much, and the other too little. Wherefore there must be somewhat betwixt these two, according to the principles by him laid down. The justification of the righteous in this world and the next being both of the same nature, according to his proof both from Scripture and the common sense (as well as conscience) of mankind, he calleth the first of these *constitutive*, and the second he calleth *declarative*; and evidently sheweth the one of these to be the rule to the other, and both to be subject to the very same laws and manner of process; and only to differ in this, that the one is privately, the other publicly, transacted. This is set in a true light both by reason and Scripture. Also the *two* acts of the sovereign Judge, in his last and more solemn justification of the righteous, are by him here rightly distinguished. And in this last, both his declaring them *just*, and his appointing them conse-

quently a *reward* thereupon, according to what is made appear in that day, is here proved perfectly to answer to the manner and constitution of the first ; which St. Paul* calls his *Gospel*, and St. Jamest the *perfect law of liberty*. Whence he concludeth, that good works must be more than merely the *signs of faith* ; forasmuch as a sign is always less than the thing signified. But *charity* that performeth these *good works* is, if we may believe St. Paul himself, greater than faith ; and by works also faith is made perfect, even as it was in Abraham, and in all the saints.

Therefore from the proceeding of God in the day of judgment, wherein his faithful servants shall be publicly justified, not only by their faith, but by their works also ; and wherein both the first act of the supreme Judge for pronouncing them just, and the second for decreeing them a suitable reward, shall have respect to the works they shall have wrought in the flesh, in obedience to the new covenant ; it is evident, that the works of charity, which *make faith perfect*,

* Rom. ii. 16.

† Chap. i. 25.

are more than the bare signs of it, as some divines would pretend ; and that charity, which is the root of them, and is, without controversy, greater than faith, the Holy Ghost witnessing as much, must be greater, for certain, than to be a sign only of faith. So then charity, and works proceeding from it, being more than a sign of faith, but not so much a *meritorious cause*, it will follow, that we may so avoid both the extremes, as yet not to deny, but that good works are a condition, *without which none* can be justified by God either in this life or the next, according to the terms of his covenant. And if there be any degree of *moral instrumentality*, as they term it, in faith, for the attainment of this blessed end, the same cannot be altogether wanting in this most excellent gift of charity, or in the obedience which is founded upon it, and is the fulfilling and perfection of that faith which pleaseth God. The appeal is here made to the judgment seat of Christ, and to his own express declaration concerning the process of that great day. And certainly, if his words have any weight with us, they

must leave no small impression upon us in favour of the doctrine here contended for, and so strenuously defended by this great and good man.

His fifth and last argument is taken from the implicit consent of all parties, and from the very confession of adversaries to this doctrine. And here he justifies the *public confessions* of the reformed churches in this point, as being all or most of them on his side; since notwithstanding that they may in terms declare, *that a man is justified by faith alone without works*, it is certain, if we may allow of their own exposition, that by *faith* they understand *grace* which answereth to it; and that the plain meaning is, *a man is justified by grace alone, and not by the merit of works*. For this they must mean, as he proveth, if the authors of those very confessions may be depended on to understand their own meaning. So that in writing against some odd doctrines, he is very far from laying them to the charge of any Christian society: he only speaketh of the private opinions of some divines who profess themselves to follow those

confessions, but who mistake and misapply them. He proveth moreover, that these very divines, who understand not the confessions and articles of their own body, and thence oppose the catholic doctrine in this point, do yet as good as confess it to be the truth, by certain hypotheses which they have set up, even to shelter themselves from the force of it.

The first hypothesis is, that the faith which *justifieth* must be a *living* and not a *dead faith*, or a faith *fruitful of good works*; whereby they distinguish it from *historical* and from *miraculous faith*. And here he exposeth handsomely the weakness of such disputants, as make the whole of the controversy to depend hence on a little metaphysical subtlety, namely, whether faith *that* is living, or else faith *as* it is living, be required as necessary to our justification. And he fully demonstrates the absurdity hereof, and that it is impossible, upon their supposition, even to make out any sense of St. James at all. For, first, this apostle most expressly declaring, that a man is justified ἐξ ἔργων, *by works*, the

participle ἐξ, *by*, or *out of*, must manifestly denote somewhat more than an idle concomitance. Since if the whole business of justification could be done and finished by faith alone, or of itself, it would be absurd to assert, that a man could in any sense be justified by works. And then, secondly, speaking of the faith of Abraham, he declareth, how *faith wrought with his works*, and how *by works his faith was made perfect*, chap. ii. 22. The apostle hereby both clearly maintaineth the *co-operation* of faith and works in the affair of justification, immediately before mentioned, ver. 21. And moreover that faith of *itself* is imperfect, and can never be brought through to the end of justification, except as it is made perfect by works. And, lastly, after having distinctly considered the several objections and evasions that have been invented against this plain literal sense, he thinketh he may safely and without heresy make the apostle's conclusion, according to the clear grammatical meaning of the words, his own; forasmuch as whosoever contendeth that a man may be justified *by faith only*, and that *works do no-*

thing in this matter, is even as ridiculous and absurd, according to the principles of the apostolical age, as he that should offer to affirm, that a man liveth by the *body* only, and that the *spirit* or soul doth contribute nothing to man's life ; that is, if the parallel of this apostle, ver. 20. be just, and his reasoning be allowed to be good.

A second hypothesis therefore to salve up this matter, the former being found so insufficient, is, *that good works are necessary to obtain salvation*. This is almost generally received by the reformed divines, that hold the other side of the question, especially by the more moderate sort of them : and some of them do mightily triumph in it, supposing that they have hereby secured themselves against all the evil consequences and contradictions to Scripture, which are charged upon the Solifidian doctrine. Which position they explain after this manner, saying, that works are indeed a condition necessary to obtain, according to God's promise, *salvation*, but not that any one should hereby obtain a *right to salvation*, this right being *freely given to*

faith only in justification. But that this is a mere evasion is fully shewn, both by Scripture reasonings, and by the very evidence of the proposition itself; so soon as the same is but explained. For he that granteth good works to be a condition, which must necessarily be fulfilled by a Christian for the obtaining of life eternal, according to God's promise, doth at the same time clearly confess, that the right to eternal life is not to be obtained without works. And again, he that denieth any right to salvation to be acquired by works, doth contradict the clear and express testimony of the Holy Ghost, who saith, *Blessed are they who do his COMMANDMENTS, that they may have a RIGHT to the tree of life*, Rev. xxii. 14. There is no possibility of avoiding the force of this evidence, as well as that of several others in the New Testament, more especially these three, 2 Thess. i. 5, 7. Heb. vi. 10. and 2 Tim. iv. 8. without entirely subverting the authority of the sacred writers; or at least making of them (as some have profanely jested) a nose of wax. Since, undoubtedly, if the reward of eternal life, called *a crown of*

righteousness, be given by the Lord as the *righteous Judge*, for what we shall have wrought, and for having *fought a good fight*; there must then of necessity be acquired by what we have *wrought*, a *right* to the reward, according to God's gracious covenant in Christ. And except this right be given in justification to *love* as well as to *faith*, and the *works* thereof, the word of God is hence plainly made void. Neither can we deny the right given, but by denying at the same time God to be *righteous*, who hath freely given a right to those that *love* him, and hath actually obliged himself to *remember* in mercy those that *work out* their salvation, by virtue of the said covenant. For if we know any thing, this we know for certain, that God is *not unrighteous*, that he should forget the *work and labour of love*, which any of his saints have *shewed towards his name*: and if so, then they must have some right by this their *work and labour*, in virtue of his promise, to be accepted and justified by him. Wherefore good works, wrought out of a love unfeigned, and upon principles purely evangelical, are

not only a necessary condition of obtaining *salvation*, which is granted ; but also of obtaining a *right to salvation*, that is, a disposition to be *justified* : which was to be proved.

And whereas it is objected by them that are against this right, though it be confessed to be the free gift of God, that the making of good works any ways needful to justification, doth both detract from the merits of Christ, and contradict the words of St. Paul ; it is prudently and solidly retorted upon them, that for the very same reasons their own hypothesis must fall also to the ground. Since as to the *merits* of Christ, our *salvation* no less than our *justification* is wholly to be attributed to them ; we being freely saved as well as freely justified for *his* sake. And as to St. Paul, it is manifest that the works which he disputeth in his Epistles, are by him excluded from *salvation* as well as *justification*. Consider particularly, Tit. iii. 5. and Ephes. ii. 8, 9. which will set this matter beyond doubt. Thus endeth his first dissertation, and his catholic exposition of St. James.

In his second Dissertation his main scope is to demonstrate, as the very title expresseth, the good agreement of St. Paul and St. James in this matter. And how well he hath performed this, there is not required much learning to judge ; but a faithful comparison of Scripture, with a moderate stock of common sense. The proposition of one apostle is, *That by works a man is justified, not by faith only.* The proposition of the other apostle is, *That a man is justified by faith without the works (νόμου) of the law.* Both these propositions are most true in themselves, and do perfectly well accord. And there could have been no difficulty concerning them, had either the state of the controversy in the apostle's days been attended to as it ought, or persons had not come with their modern opinions and prejudices to read the apostolical epistles ; not so much very often to learn what is the truth, as to establish themselves thereby, in what they are already, by the tradition of a sect, prepossessed with to be truth.

To pass by now the several wrong and unwarrantable methods, which have by learned

men been taken, in order to reconcile the *seeming* opposition of these two apostles, in a point so very material as this ; which are particularly considered in the three first chapters of this discourse, and there deservedly exploded ; our author cometh to the true solution of the knot in the following chapters. And having in the first place established this one point for his foundation, *That St. Paul is to be interpreted by St. James, and not St. James by St. Paul*, in consent with many of the ancients, (and particularly of St. Augustine himself,) who are of the opinion, that the General Epistle of St. James, the First of St. John, and the Second of St. Peter, with that of St. Jude, were written against those, who, by misinterpreting St. Paul's Epistles, had imbibed a fond notion, as if faith *without works* were sufficient to save them ; he sheweth whence this obscurity and ambiguity in the terms of St. Paul might probably arise, which was the occasion that persons not well grounded came to mistake or pervert the same.

Now this can be no otherwise he thinks, than by not understanding what this apostle

meaneth by *justification*, or by *faith*, or by *works*. Having then stated the true notion of the term *justification*, as a judicial act of God absolving man ; and pronouncing him just and blessed, according to what was before by him laid down and proved ; he enquireth next into what St. Paul meaneth by *faith*, when he maketh it the necessary qualification of our being judicially absolved, or justified in God's court. And then, lastly, he examineth what those works are which are totally excluded by the apostle from any share in our salvation, or in God's acceptance.

As to *faith*, by making St. Paul here his own interpreter, he plainly sheweth, that in all such places, where justification is by him ascribed to it, thereby is to be constantly understood the whole condition of the evangelical covenant ; comprehending in it all the works of Christian piety, as grounded upon a firm belief thereof ; and that in opposition only to the Jewish false teachers, who preached up justification by the *works of the law*, St. Paul delivered his doctrine of justification by *faith*, *i. e.* by the Gospel.

Which notion of the Christian faith, as it is taught even by this very apostle, he solidly explaineth and defendeth, by several parallel passages, such as these, viz. First, *For (to the hope of justification by faith waited for, ver. 5.) in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by LOVE,* Gal. v. 6. Second, *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a NEW CREATURE,* ch. vi. 15. Third, *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the COMMANDMENTS of God IS ALL,* 1 Cor. vii. 19. compared with the words of our Saviour, John xv. 14. and Matt. xii. 50. And this he doth here farther illustrate and confirm by all those passages, where either the apostle expoundeth *faith* by *obedience*, or else speaketh of the *obedience of faith*: as particularly, when he saith, *they have not all obeyed the Gospel,* Rom. x. 16. there interpreting and applying the words of Isaiah, who crieth out, *Lord, who hath believed our report, or preaching?* Isai. liii. 1. which obeying the Gospel or obe-

dience of faith, he declareth in the same Epistle to be λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, *by word and deed*; chap. xv. 18. Whence it is plain that by *faith* we are here and elsewhere, as often as it is supposed to act *instrumentally* for our justification, to understand that only which *worketh by* charity, and which is the same with the *new creature*, and containeth in it the *keeping of God's commandments*: and that *believing* and *obeying* the Gospel do in his writings signify the very same thing, which is called by him the obedience of *faith*, the obedience of *Christ*, and simply *obedience*, Rom. i. 5, xvi. 19, 26. 2 Cor. vii. 15, x. 5, 6. compared with James i. 22. Rom. ii. 13. as also with 1 Pet. i. 2, 22. where to *purify* the soul in OBEYING *the truth*, that is, the Gospel; and the *sanctification of the Spirit unto* OBEDIENCE, which is by casting down all human imaginations and reasonings against the truths of God, and *bringing into captivity every thought to the* OBEDIENCE of *Christ*, must needs be the same with *purifying the heart by faith*, and the being *sanctified by faith*, in Acts xv. 9. and xxvi. 18. And for-

asmuch as it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost to join, both with this same obedience to the faith, and the sanctification to this obedience, the *sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ*, which is incontrovertedly our *justification*, it will necessarily follow, that the *Christian obedience*, by which the soul is purified and sanctified through the Spirit and blood of Christ, must not be understood to be different from that faith which both *purifieth* and *justifieth*, according to the language of the very same apostle, as from abundance of places doth appear: and this is that faith which is properly called *fides formata*, being faith *formed and quickened by charity*. Thus St. Paul's sense is from parallel passages, to which many more might be added, made clear; whence the true notion of Christian faith and obedience will be found not hard to be comprehended; this is his first argument.

Another argument, that St. Paul meaneth here no other faith, but such as containeth in it obedience, and cannot be separated from charity, is taken from that famous passage of his in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. where he maketh nothing

at all of *faith alone*, or *faith by itself*, yea of the very highest faith, unless it be animated and informed by Christian love and obedience. For as to the vulgar objection, that the apostle is here speaking only of *miraculous* faith, or of some such faith at least as is imperfect, or superficial and counterfeit; this he thinks is most easily refuted by a very little attention to the words of the text and their connection. Because, first, the apostle speaketh here expressly of all *manner* of faith, as well as of all *manner* of knowledge; and thus, using the same term, he elsewhere speaketh of all *manner* of affliction, or *any* affliction, 2 Cor. i. 4. Secondly, the miracle-working faith is the highest degree of faith; there being no other faith as considered in *itself*, that is greater and nobler than this: if any will therefore own this faith to be nothing in the sight of God, though it includes the highest degree of assent to the Gospel of Christ, they must consequently grant that there is no manner of faith, which, *nakedly* considered, can avail aught to a man's salvation. Thirdly, there can be no doubt made, but that the apostle is

here writing of *true* and *evangelical* charity ; and not of any inferior sort, which sometimes may be called by that name ; but if one part of the comparison be *true* and *real*, so must the other part be likewise. For if charity that is *true* be preferred only to knowledge that is *unsound*, and is falsely so called ; or to prophecy that is *pretended* ; or to the understanding of mysteries that is *imaginary* ; or to faith that is *untrue* or *dead* ; such a comparison would be as ridiculous, as to compare the strength of a child with that of a lion, and to prefer the child's strength in making nothing of the lion's, hereby meaning a *living child*, but a *dead lion*. Fourthly, it is by all generally owned, that at the end of this chapter no other but true and perfect faith is to be understood : but if so, then also must it necessarily be understood at the beginning of the chapter after the same manner, the whole being one continued discourse, otherwise the apostle would be inconsistent with himself.

A third argument for this acceptation of the word *faith* in many places of St. Paul's Epistles, not according to the simple, but the

complex sense thereof, is taken from that remarkable text, Rom. ii. 13. (interpreted by chap. xiii. 10. Gal. v. 14. and James ii. 8.) where he expressly declareth the observing of God's commandments to be needful to justification; by determining that it is not the *hearers* or believers that are justified *before God*, but that the *DOERS of the law shall be JUSTIFIED*. Nothing, one would think, can be more plain than this, yet neither is this all; the whole current of the revelation of the New Testament constantly supposing no less, as in it is contained a body of divine precepts and rules, wisely adapted to perfect human nature, and to justify as many as are conformed thereby to the will of God. This one passage of St. Paul being applied to the *perfect law* of Christ, is as good as a thousand. Wherefore, to omit others, let it be sufficient to observe here from our author, that this is paralleled very fitly with that of St. James, *Be DOERS of the word, and not hearers only*; and with the express sayings of Christ himself, in Matt. vii. 21, 24. John xiv. 21. and xiii. 17. Now it is plain that

love is the fulfilling of the law under the new evangelical dispensation ; and that the *law is fulfilled* hence *in one word*. And this he farther corroborates from another passage in the same Epistle, expounding δικαιοσύνη by δικαίωσις, that the antithesis may more clearly appear, and so making the sense to run thus : *Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto justification, that is life eternal*, chap. vi. 16.

Thus is St. Paul's justification by *faith*, and not by *legal works*, explained according to the analogy of his own writings, and of the other Scriptures of the New Testament. Which done, he proceedeth to enquire into the ground of this manner of speaking. And this, without doubt, must be because faith is the beginning and root of all evangelical righteousness, and the first principle of all true religion, Heb. xi. 6. without which, no saving virtue is or can be in man ; and which not being obstructed, will kindly draw after it all the rest of the virtues as they are in Christ. For if we believe in him, we are

thereby led cheerfully to obey him, and to submit to his discipline, and to his wise and holy institutions.

But besides this, there are two reasons why St. Paul, in describing the condition required on our part for salvation, maketh use of *faith*. And these are, 1. That he might express to us the easiness of the condition. 2. That he might thence exclude all human merit. As to the easiness of the condition on man's part for obtaining justification, it was impossible to express it more emphatically, than by faith. For what can be more easy, than to believe; especially when there is all the reason in the world for our belief; and where, not to believe is the greatest folly and insensibility imaginable? Or what, again, can contribute more to depress the merit of all flesh, and to exclude all boasting, than to ascribe nothing to what we do, even in that which we do, but to give the sole honour of all to the grace of God in Christ; into which we cannot be initiated but by faith? So that as the new covenant is more easy than the old; if in the

old there might be some pretence of meriting, there can be none at all in the new. Whence, both to express how much greater facility there is of evangelical than of legal justification; and to make void all the pretensions of man, by virtue of his own performances; there is here given such an interpretation of those words of Moses and St. Paul, Levit. xviii. 5. Deut. xxx. 11, 12, 14. Rom. x. 5, 10. which describe the righteousness both of the Law and of the Gospel, and compare them together, as to shew the real and distinct ground of each, and to manifest wherein the prerogative of one revelation above the other doth properly consist. The sum of which is this: “The righteousness (he saith) which
“is of the law, prescribeth very many and
“grievous commandments, but containeth no
“sufficient promises to encourage a man to the
“obedience of them; but that which is of
“faith, prescribeth only a few and easy com-
“mandments, such as in themselves are highly
“recommendable, and suited to the perfection
“of our natures; and exciteth us also to the
“performance thereof by the greatest and

“most certain promises, and by the assurance
“of all those helps at hand, that we can even
“wish for or desire.” And the foundation
of all this he makes to be a stedfast belief,
that it is possible for a man to ascend into
heaven; and that even notwithstanding that
he may have descended into the deep, he must
yet return again. All which is demonstrated
to us by the history of our Saviour’s ascension,
as is here shewn: and no less likewise by
that of his death and resurrection being so
convincingly attested. So that whoever shall
doubt of this matter, he may even as well
think to bring Christ himself down from
heaven, who is thither ascended; or else to
deny that Christ was ever put to death in the
flesh, and raised again from the dead by the
Spirit. Wherefore the resurrection and ascen-
sion of Jesus Christ into heaven being once
firmly believed, the whole substance of Christ-
ian religion is made thereby most easy: so
that we may truly then say, *his commandments*
are not grievous; for to him that believeth
are all things made easy. And this is the
victory that overcometh the world, according

as the Holy Ghost witnesseth, *even our faith*. Which victory is therefore ascribed to faith, because it is faith that both encourageth us to the battle, and assisteth us in it with the whole divine armour ; and maketh the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and the aid of his Spirit, to be herein all in all.

And this faith expressing evangelical obedience, doth moreover exclude all merit : because, 1. It supposeth the revelation, and calling on God's part, first granted to man out of mere grace, before his performing any obedience to God ; and that therefore he doth perform that obedience, which is expressed by the word of faith, not by his own might and strength, but through God preventing him with his love and mercy, and graciously revealing his mind to him. 2. Because it not only supposeth a divine revelation, but also such promises as may excite a person to set about these works, which he would never otherwise have attempted, had he been never-so-much before persuaded of his duty so to do. The texts brought by him for confirmation and illustration hereof are these, viz. 2 Pet. i.

4. and 1 Pet. i. 23. compared with James i. 8. Also St. Peter's doxology, 1 Pet. i. 3. and Abraham's blessing, Gal. iii. 14. which are very express in this case, and may receive farther light from Heb. xii. 2. 3. Because so far as it regardeth the promise, it expecteth no reward but only from the free undeserved grace of God promising it. And this he taketh to be the chief reason why the Holy Ghost is wont to express the Gospel-obedience by faith, to shew that this obedience, which we yield through faith, doth not obtain salvation *sua vi aut merito, by its own efficacy or merit*, but *vi pacti, by virtue of the covenant*, or free promise; which by faith is apprehended. Texts for confirming and illustrating this, by him made use of, are these, viz. Gal. iii. 18. Rom. iv. 13, 16. This for *faith*.

As to *works*, and the ambiguity in the use of this term, as sometimes opposed to *faith*, he next proceedeth to shew, from the whole intent and scope of St. Paul, in his disputation with the Jews and Judaizing Christians, both in his Epistle to the Romans, and in that

to the Galatians, that he and St. James are perfectly of a mind; that the works excluded by one, are also no less excluded by the other, and on the contrary; and that to understand what is meant by *works*, in the writings of the apostles, we must have a regard to the controversies which were then on foot. In proving this, he is very large and clear: and particularly, occasion is taken by him, from the divine sermon of our Lord upon the mount, to state this matter with all exactness, and to demonstrate the conformity of the design, both of the Master, and of his disciples; as proceeding upon the very same principles, eying the very same objections and prejudices, and carrying on together the very same cause, even that of evangelical righteousness, notwithstanding some difference of style and method. Hereby is given us a noble prospect of the Christian religion; and a most delightful view withal of those bright and gracious works, which follow the blessed that die in Christ for their justification, is there faithfully represented to the reader.

But here, above all, it is necessary that the

works which are thus graciously received of God for Christ's sake, forasmuch as they are wrought by the operation of his own Spirit, be rightly distinguished from all other works, let their appearance be never so great and good : which, however they may justify us before men, can have no share in justifying us before God. And this is done so well in this discourse, and in the two vindications of it, as it will be hard for any to mistake the one for the other, that will mind but a little what is herein so very clearly delivered. For as there is a living and a dead faith, so likewise there are living and dead works ; which must by no means be confounded. As to faith, it is certainly dead without works ; and no less certainly are works dead without faith : the separation of one from the other is almost like the separation of the soul from the body.

Whence there can be no doubt, upon the reasonings of this treatise, but that *faith and works*, or the *works of faith*, or *faith working by love*, or *faith and repentance*, are properly the terms of the evangelical covenant ; accord-

ing to which a man is accepted and justified of God. As to faith, there can be here no controversy, that being allowed by all.

As to works, if St. Paul again may be allowed to be his own interpreter, there will be no great, if any, difficulty in the matter, as our author fully proveth. For the true state of the case, according to him, is this : The Gospel of Jesus Christ did, from its very first preaching, labour under this great prejudice from the Jews, that it did contradict the religion and the law given them of God, by the hands of Moses, the mediator thereof, and confirmed to them by many and great miracles. Against this calumny, our Lord expressly defended himself in that most divine sermon of his upon the mount, shewing how he came not to dissolve or *to destroy*, but *to fulfil* and perfect the law : both by explaining those things in it more clearly, which had never before been explained, and by strengthening it with some more exact rules ; and then also by inclining our minds to the obedience thereof, by the greatness and certainty of the promises, and even by the sealing,

moreover, of the Holy Ghost. This is for the moral. And as for the ritual part of the law, that was by Christ so consummated, as to cease when the substance thereof appeared in him. This, nevertheless, the Jews were not willing to understand, as not discerning the end and purpose of God in giving the law, but concluding that it was to be everlasting ; and that even as to all the ceremonies too therein contained. And he sheweth us how this prejudice continued, even with them that were converted to the faith of Christ : so that there was need of an apostolical council to oppose it, and to determine for the Christian liberty against the Mosaical servitude. And that which both Christ and the whole college of his apostles did, is but prosecuted more at large by St. Paul, as he proveth against the aforesaid Jewish prejudice, when he writeth of the Law and the Gospel, or the *works of the law*, and the *obedience of faith*, and compareth them together. For which, and for other reasons, he collecteth, that St. Paul cannot mean all sorts of works, when he excludeth them from justifying ;

but only some sort of them, as works of the Mosaical law.

Now the works rejected from justification by the apostle St. Paul, in his vindicating the most high pre-eminence and prerogatives of the Gospel, are, according to our author, 1. The ritual ones, which the ceremonial law appointed, and which Christ fulfilled. 2. The moral ones, before and without the grace of the Gospel, whether in the state of the law, or of nature. 3. All works of Judaical righteousness, both legal and traditional, as they are delivered by the Jewish doctors, and by the strictest Pharisees insisted on. 4. All manner of works whatsoever not founded upon Christ as the only Mediator ; and which without respect to the covenant of grace established in his blood, put in any but the least pretence to the attainment of salvation. And none of any of these are set up by his brother apostle, as is evident from his whole Epistle. And, on the contrary, St. Paul is so far from denying, that moral works, proceeding from the grace of the Gospel, do by virtue of the Gospel-covenant effectually contribute to a

man's eternal justification and salvation, that he is almost wholly taken up in demonstrating it ; which is shewn at large in seven chapters of this discourse. And this is the very thing that is contended for by St. James. And the foundation of them both is our Saviour's sermon aforesaid, which both beginneth* and endeth† herewith ; and is throughout a plain demonstration, that there can be no true justification under the Gospel, or attainment of blessedness, but by obedience as well as faith, and by the following of Christ ; and that consequently not only works of righteousness are required in order to it, but even such as surpass the righteousness of the very strictest of those that are under the law. This is the substance of the second dissertation : in which there are also several curious and learned discourses for illustration of the subject, concerning the pre-eminence of the evangelical dispensation above the legal, of the perfection of the Christian rule, of the mistakes about it, of the Jewish notions of justification, and of several other matters inter-

* Matth. v. 3, &c.

† Chap. vii. 24, &c.

spersed, which will deserve the attention of a careful reader.

About a year after this book was printed and published, there was sent a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadversions, to the author, after it had passed through several other hands before. They were written by a certain divine, who was altogether unknown to him. As he received them from his diocesan and patron, he set himself earnestly to consider them, and to review what he had printed.

In the year 1671, or thereabouts, the *Animadversions* upon his *Harmonia*, &c. which he had some time before received by the hands of Bishop Nicholson, were discovered to him to have been written by Mr. Charles Gataker, the son of that learned critic Mr. Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Dissertatio de Stylo Novi Testamenti*, &c. who was a member of that unlawful assembly of divines that met at Westminster, 1643, and was preparing to publish, after another scheme, an *Harmony* also of the *Two Apostles, James and Paul*, a little

before he died ; with whose papers the son being assisted, thought himself more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation.

How well Mr. Gataker hath succeeded therein, let any one judge, after reading over all the animadversions which he hath made, and comparing them with the book animadverted upon. After which, if he be not satisfied enough on which side the truth lieth, he may go on to read the reply to them ; but if he be, he may save himself that labour. Now the sum of what is contained in these animadversions may amount to thus much : It is not fit, he thinks, to explain St. Paul by St. James, as supposing this would be to make a single passage in the one the standard whereby to interpret a great many in the other. Nor is he willing to allow of any obscurity at all in St. Paul's expressions ; but contendeth for the plainness and fulness of his arguments in this case, against the doctrine explained and defended according to St. James, in our author's *Harmony of the Apostles*. He is not at all pleased with the

term of *fides formata*, or *animated faith*; because it seemeth to make charity the soul of faith, or its constitutive form; and because the said term is taken up by the Schoolmen, whom he inveigheth against as the great corrupters of the Gospel in this point. He chargeth the harmonist with confounding the terms* of Scripture, and with not reaching the sense of a common Greek particle.† He will not hear of the imputation of reward as a part of justification; nor is he content to have faith so far degraded as to be accounted only a condition of the Gospel-covenant, for he will have it to be a great deal more, even a real and efficacious cause of the righteousness obtained by Christ, or a causal energy in justifying a sinner. He distinguisheth betwixt the being *accepted* by God, and being *justified* by him; and granteth Cornelius to have been indeed *accepted*, but denieth him to have been *justified*, because of his good works. He alloweth not, that justification is properly meant by the sprinkling of Christ's blood, but will have sanctification referred to by it,

* Μισθὸν λογίζεσθαι and Δικαιοσύνην. † 'Εκ.

in 1 Pet. i. 2. and other places. He denieth justification to be the same with remission of sins; and is positive that justification is no where in Scripture attributed to repentance. Nevertheless he denieth not that repentance and faith are the two conditions of the Gospel which Christ had joined together, and which none ought to put asunder. He disputeth not the obligation to repentance laid upon us; but maintaineth, however, that a man may be justified by faith, who shall want the opportunity of bringing forth the fruits of repentance, being prevented by death. He defendeth the instrumentality of faith, understanding by it a certain *influence appointed by God for the obtaining of righteousness*. He contendeth for the English Protestant divines, that they have not suffered themselves to be transported too far in their disputes with the Papists about this article. By the distinction of a two-fold righteousness, the one of Christ imputed to the faithful, and by faith obtained; the other of the faithful, by himself performed, and by works exercised and shewn forth; he laboureth to surmount the difficulty

of Christ's sermon on the mount, as an authentic exposition and declaration of the moral law, and his establishment thereof for his own law, by tempering it with evangelical grace. Moreover, he distinguisheth a two-fold law of Christ, the one the moral law of God, the other the law of faith: and maintaineth, that a true and living faith is the only condition of justification according to the evangelical law of Christ, as contradistinct to the moral. He defineth saving faith to be *a lively inclination of the will, that is directed by the understanding now irradiated by the light of the Gospel, and moved by the Holy Ghost to trust in God through Christ the Mediator for eternal salvation.* He contendeth that Christ's description of the day of judgment, in Matt. xxv. is parabolical; and that no decisive argument can thence be brought for the manner of his proceeding in that day. Yea, he insisteth, that if we are to be justified in this life after the same manner we shall be judged according to this parable, we must consequently be justified by works alone, without faith. His way of reconciling

St. Paul with St. James, is by the distinction of a two-fold justification, as respecting a two-fold accusation, according to the different conditions of the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace. For he maintaineth, that we are accused before God, either as sinners, or as unbelievers ; and that we are justified against the first accusation by faith alone, laying hold on the grace and righteousness of Christ : and against the second, by works, and not by faith only, as these are the signs and evidences of our being true believers. He objecteth against the complex notion of faith, as inclusive of hope and charity with good works ; that it is plainly contrary to St. Paul's foundation, who acknowledgeth no other but faith in the blood of Christ, without works : and therefore, without a contradiction to himself, cannot be understood to speak of a faith with works. He disputeth about the perfection of the law of Moses, and saith, that the law which is to be the rule of the last judgment, can be no other than a rule of perfect obedience. He derideth the distinction of justification in the sight of God, and

before the world. The only reason for which he will allow St. Paul to deny that a sinner may be justified by the law of Moses, is the most perfect and absolute righteousness which he asserteth to be required by it, as a condition of justification ; which condition no man can perform. He is very positive, that St. Paul had no intent to make mention of the defect of the law, and that he could draw no argument from the weakness of it against justification, though he might against sanctification, by it. He saith, that the grace of God, for the observance of the law, was not denied by the very Pharisees themselves ; and that none, either Jews or Gentiles, did ever think they could be justified by works without God's grace ; even the heathens being so wise as to acknowledge *no man good without a divine genius assisting him.** And he concludeth that St. Paul doth speak only of Abraham, David, and such others, who were justified by the mercy of God through Christ, to whom God imputed righteousness without works. He is exceedingly displeased with

* Χωρὶς δαίμονος οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός.

those who make the promises and threatenings of the law to be only temporal ; and chargeth this opinion with downright blasphemy, and with contradicting the express words of Christ, Luke xvi. 29. and John v. 39. In a word, he is very earnest for the perfection of the law given by Moses, in opposition to the several infirmities objected against it ; and argueth for its fitness to produce true and genuine piety, from the book of Deuteronomy, and from the Psalms. And in the close of all, he severely animadverteth upon an appeal of our author to the judgment of the Church of England in her XIth Article, charging him with interpolating her doctrine, and the holy Scripture also ; whereby he means, corrupting and depraving it by his additions. This is a most heavy charge against him ; and his proofs ought to be very plain. The best cause in the world may be run down with clamour and confidence : but truth is never better supported, than by being modestly and simply proposed, with the arguments for and against it fairly represented, without reflection upon any for not thinking after the same

manner with us. But this is not the method of the animadverter.

It were truly much to have been wished, that so masterly a writer as Mr. Bull had met with, upon his first setting out into the world, a more considerable adversary to manage, that so the cause might have been carried on with greater advantages, for advancing the truth simply, without respect to persons or parties ; and that a great genius might not have been forced to condescend to such little matters, as he could expect to receive no honour from, if he conquered. Mr. Gataker appeareth to have been a person of great violence in his temper, but one well intentioned, and a very zealous Protestant ; and had he had but more coolness of thought, and had he withal read more of the ancients, and fewer of the moderns, he would, I believe, have made no inconsiderable writer. But he not allowing himself time to think sedately, or even to examine sufficiently the sense of an author who pleased him not ; being fired with a zeal for what he took for truth, from the systems which he had greedily sucked in, as authentic

explications of the Gospel, entirely lost himself hereby, and exposed the very cause he undertook to defend. However, in this he is to be commended, that he was content to have his thoughts communicated to his superiors in the church, and to the author of the book which he attacked, without making them more public by the press. And Bishop Nicholson was also certainly in the right, not to press Mr. Bull to publish the answer which he had prepared, notwithstanding all the foul language and provocation that was given him.

However, because nothing that was more considerable did yet appear objected against this work ; and because he thought there did lie on him an obligation both for his own sake, and the truth's sake, to vindicate himself and his book from those harsh and uncharitable censures which were cast upon him and it ; and to endeavour to put a stop to those loud clamours most unjustly raised and fomented by others of the same fiery zeal against a proceeding of the greatest fairness and ingenuity : as also because the very sending him that

printed copy of his *Harmonia*, &c. which came from Mr. Charles Gataker, stuffed throughout with his remarks and reflections written on the margins of it, together with other miscellany notes relating to this controversy, added both before and after the book by him, was looked upon by Mr. Bull, when he first received it, no other than a command of his spiritual superior, who sent it him, to undertake the answering of whatever therein might deserve any consideration; notwithstanding that this was not pressed upon him at all, forasmuch as the Bishop would often tell him, that there was no great matter in these animadversions, and that he himself made little or no account of them: he was yet resolved to steal some time from his other business, that he might shew the emptiness and the inconsistency of the arguments brought against him by this confident writer; which he hath done very largely and fully, and interspersed a great deal of curious and solid learning, wherever any occasion doth present itself: and hath frequently taken the hint from very trifling objections, to strengthen his

former works, by several most material considerations, and convincing arguments.

He very nervously defendeth the proposition of St. James, and his explication of it; and sheweth, by many arguments, that it is far more 'convenient and reasonable, that St. Paul should be interpreted by us, according to him, than on the contrary. He solidly vindicateth the phrase of *fides formata*, used by him, against his adversaries' objections; and handles the question with great accuracy of judgment, *Whether charity may rightly be called the form of justifying faith?* which is decided by him affirmatively. He is full and clear in determining the question, *Whether the conferring a right to the kingdom of heaven be properly an act of evangelical justification?* And here he shews, against the cavils of the animadverter, how the notion of justification, according to the Gospel, doth include in it necessarily the acceptance of a man before God to eternal life and salvation, or the *imputation of reward*. He proves the animadverter to be an innovator in the opinion which he would set up, and

that he widely departs both from the Church of England, and from all other reformed churches, by his attributing to faith a causal energy of righteousness, distinct from that which is proper to it as a condition of the evangelical covenant. He defends his paraphrase of St. Peter's words recorded in Acts x. 34, 35. with much strength against the weak and peevish efforts made to oppose it : and his interpretation of another passage of the same apostle, 1 Pet. i. 2. not only by the authority of celebrated commentators upon it, but even of Calvin himself : the other testimonies also of Scripture, which had been brought by him, to evidence that some certain works are prescribed as altogether needful to justification, as particularly, *repentance*, and the *fruits* of it, are strenuously vindicated by him, against the negative of his opposer. Whereupon there are four questions discussed by him very distinctly, to set the whole matter in its true light ; viz. 1. *Whether there be any condition, properly so called, of the evangelical covenant, which is not likewise a condition of evangelical justification ?* This

Mr. Gataker affirms; and Mr. Bull denies, and proves the contrary. 2. *Whether even granting that there is not one and the same condition of these two, it be not yet certain, that faith and repentance are the conditions of one and the same benefit, namely, of evangelical justification?* Mr. Bull justifies the affirmative hereof, and clears it even to a demonstration. 3. *Whether forgiveness of sins doth enter into the notion or definition of evangelical justification?* The affirmative also of this is held by Mr. Bull, as the negative is by both the Gatakers, father and son; and is defended by many illustrious passages of holy writ with a great deal of force and perspicuity, not without sufficient answers to the objections made by either or both of them. 4. *Whether even granting that forgiveness of sins be not necessarily included in the notion of justification evangelical, it be not yet certain, that there is one and the same condition of both benefits, namely, of forgiveness and justification?* And this is determined in the affirmative by our author, even from the very concessions of his adversary, while writing

against him. After this, he distinguisheth very rightly betwixt the internal and the external works of repentance: and demonstrates, that the former of these are absolutely necessary, even to that which is called the *first justification*. Then he disputeth against his adversary, about his notion of the instrumentality of faith, in this great affair; and he distinguisheth also here betwixt a physical and a moral instrument; and maketh it evident, that faith cannot, with any propriety, be said to be a physical instrument of justification, or even so much as a moral one, without a manifest contradiction to the whole tenor of the New Testament. According to which, it is demonstrated by him, that if by a *moral instrument* be meant *a condition, or influence, for the obtaining of justification according to God's appointment*, then the conversion of a sinner to God, out of the love of God and charity, hath as proper a moral instrumentality to this end, as faith hath, according to the divine appointment, as manifested in the Gospel. Upon which head he hath likewise some curious and useful obser-

vations concerning the diversity of phrases and terms used by the sacred writers in this matter, and the reasons thereof. He proceedeth next to clear himself from the imputation of having censured the English divines for their precipitancy or inadvertency in handling this subject, or at least for their incautious management hereof, so as to give some colour to the excesses of the Antinomians, Libertines, and Familists: and not only sheweth the gross mistake of his adversary, in taking what was meant of some foreign Protestant divines, to concern properly the divines of the Church of England; but retorteth closely upon himself that very thing which he so warmly complaineth of to him. After this, he discourseth against the animadverter's opinion of the *imputation of Christ's righteousness*, and discovers the several very absurd and dangerous consequences which necessarily accompany it. And he sheweth in particular, how inconsistent such a notion is, either with the remission of sin on God's part, or with repentance on ours; and how it altogether taketh away the necessity even of

faith itself, in order to justification : yea, that this being granted, it will thence necessarily follow, that a man's justification is even before his faith, with other such-like absurdities. And, lastly, he proveth how this notion quite subverts the catholic doctrine of the universal propitiation made by the death of Christ for the sins of the whole world ; upon which doctrine the very preaching of the Gospel doth absolutely depend. Afterwards he answereth also the several passages of Scripture which are usually brought for such a sort of imputation, by some superficial considerers, in derogation of the true terms required of God in the evangelical covenant. Then he pushes home his argument against the Solifidians ; that whosoever is justified of God by Christ, is absolved by the law of Christ : but no man is absolved by the law of Christ by faith only, without works ; and consequently no man is so justified. And in vindicating this against his adversary, he exposeth the vanity of all his arguments to the contrary ; and setteth forth in their proper colours the fond and erroneous opinions by him entertained. Par-

ticularly he takes a great deal of pains in refuting a fundamental error of this writer, concerning the *primary act* of justifying faith, or the *ratio formalis* of it, which he maketh merely to consist in *affiance*, strictly so called; that is, an act of recumbency upon the merits of Christ, and his imputed righteousness, and in laying hold of the evangelical promises. Whereupon he treats at large of the difference between *fides* and *fiducia*; and having formed several conclusions or theses concerning these, he unfoldeth this matter very distinctly and clearly. And thus having hereby overturned the main pillar of Antinomianism, chiefly founded in an equivocal sense of words, he next proceedeth to maintain his argument taken from the divine proceedings at the last day, against the objections of this animadverter: and on this occasion sheweth the emptiness of his distinction of a right *ad rem*, and a right *in re*, which he had brought to evade the force of that argument. For Mr. Bull proves to him, upon his own very principles, that whosoever hath a title *to* any thing, must also have a title *in* it; and on the

contrary : so that if charity hath a right or title *in* the kingdom of heaven, it must also have the same *to* it, by virtue of the evangelical covenant ; even as faith. He examineth after this, both this and his father's method of harmonizing St. James and St. Paul, being the same with that of Placæus. This he doth with great exactness, and upon the review of the whole, compares their method with his own, that it might the more evidently appear which of them hath the advantage. Whereupon he defends against all the subtle attacks of his adversary, his own opinion concerning faith being always taken in a complex sense, as comprehensive of hope and charity with good works, whensoever, in Scripture, justification is attributed to it. And argueth, that his method of reconciling those apostles cannot be new, or of his own invention, which was approved by some of the first reformers ; and since that, by many eminent divines of the reformation. Upon which he produceth a most noble testimony of Zwinglius to his purpose, out of that reformer's commentaries *concerning the true and false religion* ; and

sheweth, that this acceptation of faith, according to the complex notion thereof, was so generally followed heretofore by our Protestant divines, and so well known to all, as it gave occasion to Estius, in his controversies with us, to object, that most of our writers did make *faith and charity to be the same thing*. And then he maketh his reader see how the state of the question is, by the animadverter, quite mistaken concerning the perfection of the Mosaical law. Which law Mr. Bull denies to be a law of most perfect obedience, in the same sense as the Gospel is so. Where, by *a law of perfect obedience*, it is plain, that he meaneth nothing else but such a law as requireth of man the most perfect and complete righteousness, as a necessary condition of salvation; according to which, it would be impossible for any one man to be saved. Whence there cannot be a greater absurdity, he says, than to suppose the rule of God's proceedings in the day of judgment to be this *law of perfect obedience*: as nothing also is more unscriptural, than to suppose, that there is any one law which is to be the

standard for all, in that day; seeing that every one, according to St. Paul, shall then be tried according to the law and dispensation under which he lived. Now he alloweth the law of Moses to have had a proper justification belonging to it; and hereupon confirmeth a former distinction of his concerning a justification in respect of this life, and that which is to come, or to the things of this mortal state, and of that which is eternal; or before God, and before the world; after the authority of St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. Yea, by many arguments, he proveth, that when St. Paul denies any man to be justified by the law of Moses, the true ground of his argumentation is, that under the law there is, strictly, no manner of true justification, or remission of sins, which reacheth beyond this life; that is, under the law, in that relation wherein it is considered by the apostle. This he proveth to be the very foundation on which St. Paul, in his Epistles, buildeth, and answers the arguments for the contrary opinion defended by his adversary. Moreover, he defendeth his explication of this

apostle's argument, drawn from the weakness of the law of Moses, to deliver a man from the dominion of sin, by farther proofs of that matter, and answers to the exceptions and objections made against what was by him in his *Harmony* advanced. And whereas Mr. Bull was accused of Socinianism, for maintaining, that the law of Moses, having not the promise of eternal life, was not so very fit to produce in man a fervent, constant, and indefatigable pursuit of virtue and piety; he at once fully clears himself from that charge, and proveth also, that the contrary opinion followed by his adversary, which makes life eternal to have been promised in the Old Testament, strictly taken as such, was heretofore condemned in Pelagius by the Catholics; and that this was downright Pelagianism, in the opinion of St. Augustin, that great asserter of the grace of God, as it was so also esteemed by St. Jerom. Moreover, whereas he had asserted, that this law, strictly considered as such, containing only temporal promises and threatenings, was thereby apt to beget in men but low and earthly thoughts, he explains his

opinion so as to remove all dangerous consequences from thence, and defendeth it by the authority of St. Augustin, and even of St. Paul himself, in several most express passages to this purpose. And in the last place, he most evidently proveth, that the true and genuine sense of the Church of England, in her eleventh Article, was by him acknowledged in his *Harmony* ; and that the sense which the animadverter affixeth to it, for being diametrically opposite to the exposition thereof by the Church herself, as also to Scripture and right reason, ought to be rejected by every true son thereof. This is the substance of what he replied to Mr. Gataker, and which might serve for an answer, not only to him, but to two or three others besides, who had publicly animadverted on his book.

Whether this Mr. Gataker did live to see Mr. Bull's answer to his animadversions, I am not able to learn. Nor am I certain whether ever any thing was printed by him of his own, for the cause he appeared so zealous in, as an answer to Mr. Bull. I

know, indeed, he published a certain posthumous piece of his father's, not long before, that was left by him imperfect on this very subject; for which he is chastised* by Mr. Bull, as one who consulted not the reputation of a parent, who by his great critical knowledge and other learning had made himself more considerable, than to deserve that such-like crudities should be put forth under his name, at least by a son. It is true, Mr. Bull mentioneth a friendly conference between two considerable divines about the subject of justification, which he saw in manuscript; wherein the elder Gataker's scheme of this matter was very ingeniously delineated, and wrought with no small care and pains; but which yet, as to the main, proved not satisfactory to either of these learned men. And it is no less true, that another of Mr. Bull's adversaries doth expressly mention a printed discourse of this younger Gataker's, seen by him, †*Wherein he signifying his dislike of*

* Examen Censuræ Resp. ad Animad. 7. n. 8.

† An Endeavour to rectify some prevailing Opinions, &c. London, 1671. Pref.

Mr. Bull's, propounds a third way to reconcile the apostles Paul and James. But that he did only signify his dislike of Mr. Bull's way, without entering at all into the merits of the cause; and propose another way, without troubling himself much for an answer to the arguments brought for that which he professed to dislike, seemeth very probable; both because Mr. Bull, in his *Examen*, never takes the least notice of any such discourse; which he can hardly be supposed to have utterly forgotten or neglected, had there been found therein but any appearance of argument against the scheme that was by him so learnedly and fully defended against this very writer; since he is known to have condescended so far, by imposing even a penance both on his own and his reader's patience, as to examine minutely all that he could find urged against him, whether considerable or inconsiderable, even so as not to slip the most trifling objections and petty cavils of this eager controvertist, inasmuch as he designed it to be a thorough vindication of his *Harmony*, and would not have one objection whatsoever

left by him unexamined and unconsidered : and also because the learned writer, who makes mention of this discourse of Mr. Charles Gataker, not only judges him mistaken in the interpretation of both the apostles, but owns, that Mr. Bull had said enough, in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, to make it appear, that he hath not given them the right sense so much as of one of them. Now it appeareth, that Mr. Gataker published his discourse of Justification at the same time that Mr. Bull was writing against him, or a little before, that is, in or about the year 1670 ; forasmuch as we find it mentioned the next year, by the afore-said author, who gives his character of it, and acquaints us withal, that it came not forth till after he had finished his own reflections upon Mr. Bull's book. So that it must needs have been printed several months after the publication of the *Harmonia* ; and yet at farthest in the beginning of the year 1671. And therefore, had there been any thing in it worthy his notice, it could, doubtless, never have escaped our author's most strict examination.

It must here be confessed, that Mr. Bull, as he was a man, and consequently subject to human passions, being so highly provoked by the undeserved treatment of him by Mr. Gataker, and the unfair methods which he made use of, doth now and then treat him again with more severity than I could have wished. This, the natural fire and vivacity of his temper, with the sense of the injustice done not only to himself, but to the cause of truth and religion, seems to have prompted this good man to, and to have carried him a little too far, in my opinion, for the sake of a triumph over his adversary. For I cannot but think all controversies in matters of religion are then best handled, and with the greatest probability of success, when they are managed calmly without all particular resentments, and with all the tenderness that is possible towards those persons whom we are endeavouring to reclaim into the way of truth. And that, especially, nothing can be more unbecoming the character of divines, than for them who are to be the messengers of peace to wrangle one with another about the way ;

and in the mean time thereby to neglect the great things of their message, and such as accompany peace. But if, where the provocation was so excessive, as in this case, and the goodness of his cause so very clear, and so acknowledged by the best judges, the zeal of Mr. Bull might sometimes happen to transport him a little in the very conflict with his adversary, and cause him to go beyond the measures of a pacific writer; he was still careful to adhere most strictly to the truth, without partiality or respect of persons; and was ready to alter and expunge any thing in his writings, that through too much severity might be apt to give offence, and so to hinder the good effects of his labour of love for reconciling persons to the truth. This made him submit so freely all which he had thoughts of publishing to the censure of his learned friends, that they might not only consider the argument, but soften also what they should see fit in the expression. And notwithstanding that the elder Gataker appeareth to have been no less against the opinion Mr. Bull defended than his son Charles, yet Mr. Bull treats him

with abundance of respect, as often as he hath occasion to mention him ; giveth the titles of **doctissimus* and *pientissimus* to him ; allows him to have been really a considerable person ; and the scheme which he had formed of this matter, to be at least very ingenious ; saying moreover, that he held his memory in honour, and would himself, were his son silent in it, proclaim his praise ; and where he dissents from him, answers his arguments without any reflection.

This Mr. Thomas Gataker, when he was young, began to preach upon the Epistle of St. James, in the reign of King James the First, this subject being about that time much agitated by some eminent divines of our church : and according to his tson's relation, seemeth to have preached it through, or to have given at least a methodical explication of the whole design thereof, and of the more considerable parts relating to his purpose.

* Respons. ad Animad. 7, and 15.

† A. D. 1617. Aggressus in concionibus B. Jacobi Epistolam explicare, quod Dei ope methodo accuratissima peregit. *Animad.* 15. *ad Dissert.* 2. cap. 3.

And a little before the breaking out of the civil wars, when most of the pulpits of London were hotly contesting and fighting about the grace of God, and the method of man's justification by it, he resumed his former task, being sincerely desirous of reconciling differences, and of promoting peace and truth together; for which end, as he had before preached upon St. James, in like manner as Mr. Bull also began first with him, he now proceeded to preach upon St. Paul, and took also the very same text for his discourse which Mr. Bull pitched on for his second dissertation. About the year 1651, the good old man began to look over his loose papers upon this subject, and the fragments or heads of his sermons for harmonizing these two apostles, with a design of fitting for the press the substance of what he had occasionally delivered from the pulpit. But he being now broken, and very old, was not able to finish what he undertook. And all his papers falling to his son, upon his death, which followed very quickly, these were by him, out of an overfondness to all his father's performances,

published with all their imperfections, to the no small disparagement both of his own, and his father's name, as before was hinted.

Not long after this, Mr. Joseph Truman, a man of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one also not unacquainted with the ancient fathers, who had before written and published a short discourse concerning the apostle Paul's meaning of *justification by faith without works*; finding some of his opinions therein advanced to be not only shaken by the *Harmonia Apostolica*, but to be in danger of being perfectly routed; and perceiving also that the sentiments contrary to his did very much daily prevail, by the reading of that treatise, set himself to write an answer in English to that part of it which chiefly concerned himself. Which answer was afterwards published by him, under the title of *An Endeavour to rectify some prevailing Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England*: by the author of *The Great Propitiation*. “In the preface to “which the reader is made acquainted, that

“ about half a year after that he had published
“ some sermons, intituled *The Great Propi-*
“ *tiation*, whereto was added that short dis-
“ course aforesaid, concerning *justification by*
“ *faith*, in the sense of St. Paul; there came
“ forth a learned book called *Harmonia*
“ *Apostolica*, written by Mr. George Bull,
“ which quite crossing the interpretation he
“ had given of St. Paul, he was occasioned
“ by some occurrences, which it concerned
“ not the reader to know, to write the sub-
“ stance of those reflections upon it for some
“ private use.” For he telleth us, they were
written without any design of printing them,
within three months after the coming forth of
the said book; but were not published till
about two years after, when he observed how
fast some opinions got ground in the Church
of England, contrary to his exposition thereof;
which was attributed by him, in a great mea-
sure, to Mr. Bull, and more especially to the
latter part of his performance.

For Mr. Truman could find nothing to
object against the former part of it, nor even
against several chapters of the latter; nay, he

condemned Mr. Gataker for writing against him in this point, affirming, that he did not give the right interpretation either of St. James or St. Paul ; and for the proof hereof, he referred his reader to his own discourse before mentioned, and even to Mr. Bull also, whom he allowed to have written satisfactorily in many things, and to have sufficiently refuted his hypothesis for the reconciliation of these two apostles, however ingenious this might possibly appear at first view. Now, nothing could happen more honourable to Mr. Bull, than this testimony from an adversary in his favour, recommending his book to be read by all such as were willing to have a clear and full view of the controversy ; yielding so great a part of it to contain a fair explication and vindication of the truth ; and preferring his performance to that of one who appeared after him, not without several considerable advantages and assistances from the learned notes of an eminent divine, and celebrated critic, that for many years together had made this his particular study. Whether **The Way*

* London, 4to. 1670.

to Truth and Peace, which was published under the name of Mr. Charles Gataker, in order to a reconciliation between St. Paul and St. James concerning justification, were really his own or his father's, is not material to be known : but it is certain, that both Mr. Bull and Mr. Truman did agree in this, that it was already answered sufficiently before ever it did appear ; and that neither *truth* nor *peace* could solidly be established by the *way* therein taken.

These two go more than half way together, being perfectly agreed about faith, and not disagreeing in the exclusion of several sorts of modern reconcilers : but they differ about the law, and the true extent of its notion ; or they seem at least to differ more than perhaps they really do. For that which Mr. Bull calls *ipsissimum Evangelium*, or the *very Gospel*, is called by Mr. Truman the *Law*, in the most perfect sense of it. And hence, according to one, the Gospel may very truly be said to be *a law of most perfect obedience* ; while, according to the other, the Mosaical law may as truly be said to be such ; that is, with

different respects and views. The one is very large in shewing the defects of the law, and how it both wanted an external help for encouragement of perfect obedience to it, being the promise of eternal life; and an internal one, being the gift of the Holy Ghost: and the other is no less so, in shewing the perfection of it, and how it wanted neither one help nor the other. And as Mr. Bull hath many strong arguments for the *disability* of the law, either to work true sanctification in man, or to lay hold on eternal life: so hath Mr. Truman many others for the *ability* of the same law, as taken in his sense, in order to attain these very ends. It is certain, that they had both of them different views; but it is not quite so certain that they both had always different opinions, when they expressed themselves after different ways. And of this it were easy to give instances, if it were here necessary.

But moreover, there were besides Mr. Truman, not a few others, and those both learned and pious, in Mr. Bull's own judgment, who were not able so perfectly to digest

the seventh chapter of his second dissertation, which treateth of the twofold defect of the law of Moses, and maintaineth, that this law cannot absolutely and without any consideration be called a rule of perfect obedience. Some there were more violent than the rest; of whom he complaineth, that they made very tragical outcries against him, as if by such an hypothesis as this, "the whole system of "orthodox divinity should be shaken, yea, "broken to pieces, and utterly destroyed; "and that the very foundations both of Law "and Gospel were hereby at once undermined "and overturned." As for them that were not so outrageous, but shewed themselves to be of a true Christian temper, and not far from the truth, our learned Harmonist was ready and willing to give them all the satisfaction that was in his power; professing at the same time that he did not insist on this matter as necessary for the reconciliation of St. James with St. Paul; but that he did submit it to better judgments, having only made the proposal for the sake of truth and peace, with a desire that it might be freely

and impartially considered. Indeed, as he proposed his opinion to the learned, not to the vulgar, by writing in a language which none but the learned understood ; so he expected, that they who should undertake to answer his arguments, would follow also his method therein, and not trouble the heads of the weak and the unlearned with doubtful disputations, and matters above their reach, to judge of with any exactness, by appealing to them in their own native language ; and this when the controversy was at first otherwise laid, and brought up from the pulpit, and consequently from the common people, to be debated and decided by the learned. Therefore he was not at all pleased that Mr. Truman should bring it down again.

Indeed, it would seem very absurd for any one to answer a Latin treatise in English ; and especially if it were purposely written in Latin, that it might not fall promiscuously into the hands of the common English readers, for fear of disturbing their brains with certain arguments not suited to their capacity ; as plainly was the case of Mr. Bull. But then,

on the other side, it must be owned, that Mr. Truman had published, the very same year in which Mr. Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* appeared, and some months too before it, his treatise of the **Great Propitiation*, which had been well received by some learned men of the Church of England, and particularly by that great and zealous assertor of primitive antiquity, Bishop Gunning, who for the sake thereof desired to be acquainted with the author, though a dissenter. So that he was really the first of the two in this controversy, wherein they were both engaged unknown to each other. And besides this, as the said *Harmonia Apostolica* was the first-born of Mr. Bull's productions, so was likewise *The Great Propitiation* of Mr. Truman's, and both alike favoured by them as such. In the treatise of the former, which was last printed, we have the sum of what he preached at several times, set forth for the use of the learned, together with a very learned vindication thereof, from Scripture, reason, and antiquity, in a language and style proper only

* London, 1669.

to them : but in the treatise of the latter, which was first printed, there is contained the substance of several sermons preached upon that great article of our religion, and made public in the same language in which they were preached, for the use of the unlearned as well as the learned : whence having first published his opinion in English, both from the pulpit and the press, Mr. Truman thought he had a right to vindicate it in the same language, notwithstanding that the strongest arguments against it were delivered in a Latin treatise, to which therefore a Latin answer was not without reason expected. And farther considering that this matter had been first debated by the most learned and pious Dr. Hammond, in English also, whom Mr. Bull is supposed by this author to follow ; he concluded to write on in the vulgar tongue rather than in the learned.

Besides these two, he seemeth to have had a third motive both for writing against Mr. Bull, and for his writing against him in English rather than Latin ; which was that by exposing certain doctrines and opinions, as

contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, which were by the most eminent divines thereof maintained at that time, and by Mr. Bull then defended with great learning and force in his said book, he might under the pretext of rectifying them, and of composing many differences in opinion, to use his own words, add some weight to his reasons for separation, from the maintainers of them, and from the society whereof they were members. For it looks as if it were his design to shew hereby, that he was no such separatist from the Church of England, whose doctrines he would appear as heartily to embrace, as some who lived in her bosom; and that many abiding in her ministerial communion were yet greater non-conformists than ever he was; while professing themselves to be divines of the Church of England, they nevertheless departed, as he thought, from the very principles on which the Reformation was founded. It was his misfortune, upon the Act of Uniformity, not to be thoroughly satisfied in all that was required of him for his continuance in the exercise of his ministry; and he was

jealous of some advances made towards Socinianism, as well as carrying too high a controversy about things in their nature indifferent. But he endeavoured still to keep a fair correspondence with the Church of England, to speak of her with esteem, to make honourable mention of her Bishops, to express himself as one of her members, and actually to defend lay-communion with her. And therefore he would not be thought to have written against her by such an essay as this: which was very probably intended by him for his own justification: and to insinuate that there might be more danger to be apprehended by the Church of England from a non-conformity to her doctrines, than from one to her discipline. These I take to be the chief motives of his undertaking to write against Mr. Bull and others, and of making this his public appeal, not in Latin, as Mr. Bull had done, but in English, as properly concerning the English church. I must now give some account of what he hath performed in this enterprise, so far as our author is concerned with him; without which the

history of this controversy, and consequently of the works of so great a man of our church, would remain but very imperfect. To proceed then,

Mr. Truman, having published about the beginning of the year 1669, his *Great Propitiation* aforesaid, wherein the article of justification was necessarily treated of ; for a fuller illustration of the same he added an Appendix to it, concerning the meaning of the apostle Paul, in treating this subject ; in which he will have the apostle to dispute against justification by *perfect obedience to the law*, as a thing impossible to a man in this life ; and our Lord not to have added any thing new to the law in his sermon on the mount, but only to have vindicated it from corrupt interpretations. For without considering at all the infirmity of the law, as being referred to by the apostle, he insisted that not only an outward obedience to it was required of God, but also that which was inward and perfect ; and that therefore a man was bound by it to live perfectly, and free from all man-

ner of sin, both outwardly and inwardly, looking beyond temporal promises and threats, to those that are eternal. And besides this, he seemed to maintain that a man might be obliged to do somewhat, which it was not in his power to do; and might also be justly punished for not doing it, where the disability or impotence was not natural, but proceeded originally from his own fault.

Now when after this another scheme for the interpretation of St. Paul was brought forth by Mr. Bull, which he found to contradict his in some material points, or at least not to be easily reconcileable with it, he set himself hereupon to defend his own scheme, as the only orthodox one, thinking that Mr. Bull would make an intolerable change in the very substance of the body of divinity. And in this view he published not very long afterward, *A Discourse of natural and moral Impotency*, upon the principles laid down in his former discourse; in which some chapters of Mr. Bull's second Dissertation are indirectly attacked. For he looked upon this distinction to be of such importance in divinity, as

that they who should speak or write of the controversies about justification, grace, free-will, the law of works, faith, evangelical perfection, and such like, without keeping clear notions about this, would certainly speak and write like children concerning them, though otherwise never so capable and learned: as also that a person but of ordinary understanding, by keeping to this distinction, might competently satisfy himself and others (if willing to be satisfied) in such controversies as have posed the greatest wits and scholars that deviate from it. This he hath treated at large with great metaphysical subtlety for the learned, and with sufficient plainness in the practical inferences for the use of the unlearned. Notwithstanding which, whatever he might pretend, he appeared to several to teach here a new divinity, and to deliver strange opinions and doctrines very remote from the common sentiments of men, according as he himself was indeed sensible of beforehand. Wherefore he prudently abstaineth from mentioning of names, that none might hereby be provoked against him,

as he was not without reason apprehensive of. And without telling his own name, that he might not either expose himself, or do any prejudice thereby to a cause he was so fond of; he cared not to let the world know any more of him, than that he lived obscurely, and was the author of such a book, as had not been ill received by the public.

There are two editions of this discourse, which, because they afford an occasion to Mr. Bull of giving us his more mature and accurate thoughts upon so nice a subject, will deserve not to be forgotten: the one was taken care of by himself, but the other by a friend after his decease, with some additions left by the author under his own hand; and particularly an Appendix, for farther clearing up and vindicating the same discourse, in which he declareth his opinion concerning the *propagation of the soul and sin*. This second edition had his name put to it, and his quality. The principles upon which he here goeth are these: 1. No man is bound by any law of God or man, farther than his natural faculties and powers reach. 2. A man is bound by

the law of God, so far as these natural powers do reach, and his greatest aversion of will to obey the same will not excuse him, but rather add to his inexcusableness. 3. Such an aversion of will in man doth certainly hinder his compliance with God's commandments, till God takes it away; or till by some super-effluence of grace, which he is not in justice bound to afford, he overcometh this reluctance of the will. Whence this author inferreth, and laboureth to prove, 1. That a man's culpable impotency lieth only in a disability to do what he hath a power to do; or in his not being able to do in one sense what he can do in another. And, 2. That the effect of divine grace consisteth not barely in a man's receiving from God a power to obey his commands; but in something over and beside, to cause a man to do what he is bound to do, and would be to blame for not doing. These principles and inferences were afterwards examined by Mr. Bull, both in Latin and English, on occasion of his last treatise, which came out soon after to back this, and is directly levelled against our author, out of

whose *Harmonia Apostolica* he hath translated several leaves together, and almost whole chapters, thinking to overthrow his hypothesis by some arguments which he hath brought against it, and to establish his own. And in this last book, wherein he expresseth so much his concern for the doctrine of the Church of England, and his zeal to correct the opinions of some learned men in her communion contrary to it, he frequently referreth to the aforesaid discourse, wherein he had laid down these principles, and drawn several corollaries from them to his purpose. And of this as particular an account as is needful, for the perfect understanding the history of the works of so great a bishop in our church, and of so eminent a defender of the catholic faith, will not surely be altogether unacceptable, since it must needs contribute more than a little to the right stating of certain questions, which the generality of people are ordinarily for considering but on one side only; and to the giving a fair prospect of the arguments on both sides, without passion or prejudice, that upon summing up of the whole, it may be

more easy for any one to judge on which side the advantage doth lie.

Now therefore he saith, that the learned author's design is very commendable, that his whole first dissertation concerning the sense of the apostle James in affirming justification by works as a condition, is acute, solid, and cogent : and not only this, but that so also is all generally in his second dissertation to the fifth chapter, and part of it. And he is entirely one with him, so long as he explaineth or defendeth the meaning of St. James, or discovereth the weakness and falsehood of the attempts of many writers, designing to reconcile the seemingly contrary expressions of this apostle with those of St. Paul ; yea, he thinketh what is written by our author hereupon is highly worth the reading of any that have other apprehensions of the meaning of St. James, or that are not satisfied that the apostle Paul by faith meaneth the whole necessary duty of a Christian. Moreover, he granteth and lamenteth, that many important doctrines of the Reformed Churches are frequently by too many grossly explained, so

as to have ill consequences flowing from them ; which, if rightly understood, would be found not to patronize but to disown such consequences. And particularly in the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, according to St. Paul, he granteth Mr. Bull to have rightly interpreted what this apostle meaneth by faith, and consequently to have rightly explained the doctrine of the Reformed Churches therein, while he proveth that we are to understand, *not one single virtue by faith, but the whole Gospel-condition, the whole duty required for salvation, as the obedience of faith.* So that the whole controversy of Mr. Truman with him is only about that part of the second dissertation which undertaketh to prove what St. Paul meant by *works of the law.* And Mr. Bull is charged with following herein the opinion of Dr. Hammond, as it is laid down in his practical Catechism, very fully.

Now the first great mistakes as he will have them, the *πρῶτα ψεύδη*, in that part of Mr. Bull's book, which he esteemeth the occasion of all his other mistakes, in relation to the

apostle Paul's sense in denying justification by works, and indeed of the mistakes also of many other learned authors, (as Episcopius, Bishop Taylor, &c.) being much of his judgment in the particulars here disputed of, are made to be these: viz. 1. His concluding that there is no law which proposeth future rewards and punishments, but the Gospel or law of grace. 2. His not considering the difference between an original law and a remedying law, or conditional act of oblivion distinct from that first law. 3. His not understanding the difference between natural and moral impotence. 4. His notions of the law of Moses, as having only temporal promises and threats annexed to it, and being void of spiritual and internal commands. These he supposeth to be the fundamental mistakes of Mr. Bull, and other learned divines in the Church of England, which he endeavoureth to confute to the utmost of his power, and must be acknowledged to have said some things hereupon that seem not inconsiderable.

For because he knew not of any that had spoken exactly and satisfactorily of the law, in the several notions and acceptations of it, nor in all things rightly, at least not comprehensively enough in his opinion ; he thought it necessary to write somewhat largely and distinctly concerning it ; in order to destroy both Mr. Bull's hypothesis, and likewise to lay a foundation for the right understanding not only of the passages of the apostle in debate, but of other passages also of the New Testament, respecting the law ; and particularly of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where *law*, he thinks, is to be taken in a different sense from that wherein it is in the places now in dispute. His thoughts upon the matter, in short, are these : that the law of Moses may be considered either as to temporal respects only, or as to the concerns of the life to come, and that under both these respects it ought to be again considered, either as the original law itself, or as the remedying law to it. And accordingly he hath four several notions and interpretations of the law. First, he considereth it in the external political

sense, wherein it had only as temporal punishments for offences, so only temporal promises of peace, prosperity and long life in the land of Canaan, upon obedience to the law ; and also had, in this sense, no spiritual or internal precepts. However, he maintaineth the law in this strict temporal sense to be a shadow both of future punishments to every transgression internal and external, and of future heavenly felicity to perfect obedience. Secondly, he considereth the same law, as comprehending in it a remedying law, as to these temporal severities, or as affording pardon upon sacrifice, for the greatest number of transgressions. And so he will have it, that this political and temporal law was a sort of little gospel in reality ; being a law of pardon, as to the temporal punishment that was therein threatened ; and a shadow also, or pattern and representation of its own gospel-favour in admitting the transgressors thereof to grace and pardon, with regard to eternal punishment, on the account of the great satisfaction to come, that was typified by such sacrifices. Thirdly, he considereth it as a law of conscience, essentially

respecting the future state, and requiring obedience to all therein commanded, under the peril of future death or wrath to come ; for that otherwise there would be no pardon or satisfaction by Christ, for the wrath to come, which by this law is due to sin. And in this strict sense he will have St. Paul to use the word *law* in the most of those places in dispute, and which are insisted on by Mr. Bull to reconcile them to St. James. And in this sense he saith the law was no type or shadow, nor to vanish away, but that it standeth in force to this very day. Lastly, he considereth it as a law of grace, revealing that the punishment made due to the transgressor, by the law in its first and strict sense, might yet be pardoned ; and he should enjoy, notwithstanding this, the promised life to come, on condition he did repent, and sincerely endeavour obedience for the future to all God's laws, with the whole bent of heart and soul. And in this sense he saith the law was no type or shadow at all, but the very gospel itself, and that word of faith, which the apostles preached : and that in this very sense also David took the

law in most of his encomiums of it. Whence he concludeth, that justification and salvation are not denied to it, or to the works of it, by the apostle, either to Jews or Christians ; forasmuch as it still continueth the same for substance, having the same sanction and condition, or precept in general ; namely, that upon our repentance and sincere obedience, God will justify and save us from all our sins. And accordingly,

He interpreteth both the threatenings and promises of the law, as having four different significations. Thus concerning this solemn malediction, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them*, he saith it did notify these four distinct sanctions, with their distinct conditions : viz. 1. Every one shall be punished with a violent temporal death, or such death shall be due to him, that observeth not every external precept of the law. 2. Every one shall be punished with the aforesaid death without remedy, that offendeth either in the great instances exempted from pardon, or in other lesser faults, not observing the sacrifices

appointed for the expiation of these. 3. Future death, or wrath to come, is due to every one that obeyeth not every commandment both internal and external. And 4. This future or second death shall without remedy befall every such offender against the law, he not repenting of his sins, and sincerely endeavouring obedience to every precept thereof, internal and external. And to the like extensive import he will have also the promise or blessing annexed to the law, to be interpreted. Now he supposeth the not understanding this fourfold distinction of the Mosaical covenant, and of its cursings and blessings, or threats and promises, to have led Mr. Bull into some mistakes, in determining what St. Paul meaneth by works and by the law ; and consequently in his denying justification by the works of the law.

And whereas Mr. Bull is very particular and full in distinguishing between the *Horeb covenant*, recorded in the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d chapters of Exodus, and the covenant made in the land of Moab, recorded in the 29th and 30th chapters of Deuteronomy, as

having quite different promises and precepts, the one carnal and earthly, the other spiritual and heavenly : Mr. Truman, on the other side, maintaineth, that they are not two, but one and the same covenant, by many arguments which he bringeth from history, and the reason of fact. And whereas Mr. Bull also, after Episcopius, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Taylor, and others of great name, doth assert the promises and threats of the Mosaic law to be only and properly temporal, his adversary hath inserted a pretty large dissertation concerning the spirituality of this law, and the sanction thereof, even by rewards and punishments in another life, which containeth some observations not to be despised.

He granteth the law of Moses to have no spiritual commands, threats, or promises, as it was the instrument of the Jewish polity, but judgeth it cannot be so meant in those passages of St. Paul in debate, to be reconciled to St. James, according to the principles he had before laid down and explained. He bringeth a great number of passages out of the Psalms, several of them being cited and referred to in

the New Testament, with a design to shew that it is notoriously contrary to the expressions of David concerning the Judaical law, to deny that it had spiritual commands together with promises and threats, relating to the world to come. He confirmeth this by the encomiums of the law given by St. Paul himself, calling it *spiritual* and himself *carnal*, expressing his delight therein *after the inward man*, and declaring it to be *holy, just, and good*. He urgeth, that if the promises and threatenings of the law, as such, were only carnal and temporal, then none would have been bound to true piety by that law; but, on the contrary, the Jews would have done well in suffering themselves to be bound to the earth by the profits and delights thereof; and in alienating their minds from true piety, by yielding to such an earthly and sordid temper, as such a law was apt in its own nature to beget. He insisteth that God would never have been angry with the Jews for not being wrought upon to real piety by the law, if that was so very defective. He saith farther, if by that law no future misery beyond this life was

announced against the transgressor, there would have been no man bound to suffer it ; yea, that Christ could not suffer any thing by way of satisfaction as to the curse of the life to come ; nor any one be pardoned his transgression, as to punishment after this life, if no such punishment was ever threatened by it. He argueth that these threats and promises concerning a future life must have been so plain in the law, as people with the use of ordinary means might understand them. He asserteth, without this were so, they had been excusable before God, and would not have been condemned for not being truly pious. He maintaineth that this was the current opinion of the Jews, and that they did ordinarily believe that the law promised future life, and threatened future misery ; for the truth of which he appealeth to all the old Jewish writers extant, and particularly to the Talmud ; wherein among three sorts of men that are named to have no portion in the world to come, these are esteemed one who shall say *The resurrection of the dead is not taught by the law* ; and to the antient Targums of Onkelos,

and Jonathan, in both of which there is express mention of *eternal life*. Moreover he urgeth, that the error of the Sadducees in denying a future life, was occasioned by their not understanding the Scriptures, thereby meaning the Old Testament, and more especially the Books of Moses or the Pentateuch, which could not be said, if the Scriptures revealed no such thing as happiness to the obedient, and unhappiness to the disobedient in a future state. Yea, he confirmeth this by the very argument of our Lord himself; and by his command to *search the Scriptures*, when there were none besides those of the Old Testament, with a view of finding by them eternal life: as likewise by the solemn appeal of St. Paul expressing his faith of another life, both for the godly and the wicked, according to what he found *written in the law* as well as *in the prophets*. And here he offereth several arguments both from the Old and the New Testament, to shew that the Jews had promises in their law of a future blessedness, if they were found obedient to it: also that they had clearer promises of a future state, than the Gentiles

by the law of nature could have : and that all that they had more of this hope of immortality, was to be ascribed wholly to the covenant of promise, revealed in the Old Testament, and particularly in the book of the law itself. This he saith likewise was the perfect law of grace converting the soul, and giving life to men converted ; by which Moses, Samuel, and David being under it, were justified and saved.

He commendeth Mr. Bull for so interpreting St. Paul, as to shew that Abraham had no cause to boast before God of any thing in the matter of his justification : and that the reward imputed to him could not be of debt, as it useth to be given to works, but of mere grace. Nor hath he so much as one word to say against his exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England in her Eleventh Article ; but fully agreeth with him, that by the words of the Article there is not attributed any efficacy or dignity to faith, more than to other virtues, in the business of justification. Our excellent author hath taken no small pains in the second part of his Harmony to shelter

himself from the charge of heterodoxy, and to prove in particular the judgment of the Church of England, even in that very article that establisheth justification by faith only, not to be against him, but to make for him : and his adversary here confesseth as much ; and saith expressly, *I dislike not this at all*. And indeed there are so many things in Mr. Bull which he disliketh not, that I know not whether I ought to call him his adversary or his friend.

And whereas he declareth himself not at all satisfied with what our author hath said of the necessity of grace, and of man's disability to do any good without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, because he telleth us not explicitly enough what he meaneth by this grace, and what the effect of it is; yet he falleth most foul upon Dr. Hammond, supposing Mr. Bull to have the same common notions with him about it. So that he maketh here but an indirect attack against Mr. Bull's book, complaining that his notions about this matter did lie more remote from vulgar apprehensions

than Dr. Hammond's; Mr. Bull speaking but little *ex professo*, to declare what he meant by grace, so that he was not easily or presently understood. He chargeth, however, both him and the Doctor with a low and mean opinion concerning grace, which if practically held, would be destructive to all piety, and in particular to the very constitution and offices of the Church of England. For he is so charitable as to grant, that men may hold errors destructive of religion, notionally and doctrinally, and yet hold the contrary truth practically. And this he freely alloweth to be the case here. Now his own opinion is, "that grace, whether actively taken for God's
"act, or passively for the effect of this act,
"doth not consist merely in God's causing
"or man's receiving such a power, as without
"which they that enjoy the Gospel cannot be
"inexcusable in not obeying it, or cannot sin
"culpably; this being a power that is given
"universally to all that hear and enjoy
"the Gospel: but in God's giving, and in
"man's receiving something from God,
"which may overcome the aversation that is

“ in man to good, and thence cause him to
“ refuse the evil and choose the good, in obe-
“ dience to the Gospel; without which yet
“ men would not be wholly excusable from
“ such obedience.” For he maintaineth that
the power, without which men would be ex-
cusable, being properly in God an effect of
justice, is not to be accounted by us an effect
of supernatural grace, yea not of grace or
favour at all. Since it is no kindness or
favour, but justice, not to condemn a man
for not doing what he hath not the power to
do. And if God require men, saith he, *it is
necessary in justice, that he give them so
much ability to choose the good and refuse
the evil, as may make them inexcusable in not
doing it.* The opinion now which he chargeth
upon Dr. Hammond and Mr. Bull, as con-
trary both to the doctrine and practice of the
Church of England, is their holding that the
effect of grace is, *the giving that internal
power or ability, that men could not be in-
excusable without, in not obeying the Gospel :*
or, *that God’s working in us to will and to
do, is but giving us power to will and do.*

And he saith that no man can, even in the words of the Common Prayer, seriously pray or praise God, for the conversion and sanctification of himself or others, adhering to such an opinion ; by which the grace of God is degraded, according to him, to *the very power or faculty of free-will, in actu secundo*. This he believeth himself to have irrefragably shewn in his former discourse of *natural and moral impotency* ; and for its contradicting the declared practice of our church, he adviseth any that shall but doubt thereof, to take the said Book of Common-Prayer, and therein read such prayers, and to see if they can think the meaning of such prayers to be, that God would give them and others that power to obey, without which he could not condemn them for not obeying, (as is apparent of that power without which men would be excusable,) and consequently a power, which whether they pray or pray not for, God is by himself bound in justice to give them.

This is indeed a most heavy charge against Mr. Bull, if it could clearly be proved : but he deduceth it only consequentially from

his discourse, and it reflecteth not only upon him and Dr. Hammond, but upon as many as go the common remonstrant way, or that maintain the universality of grace. It is vain to protest never so much that the Holy Spirit giveth us the power, which all the good we do is imputable to ; or, to declare in this case, “ That the grace of God in lapsed man is the
“ **one sole principle of spiritual life, conver-*
“ *sion, regeneration, repentance, faith, and*
“ *every other evangelical virtue ;* and that
“ all that can be justly attributed to our will
“ in any of these, is the obeying the motions,
“ and making use of the powers which are
“ bestowed upon us by that supernatural prin-
“ ciple.” For if the obeying the motions, and making use of the powers, which God bestoweth upon men, may justly be attributed to our will, and not to a special operation besides of the Spirit ; God only giving us the power, and wholly leaving it to us to make use of it, without doing any more by his Spirit to cause us to make use of it ; Mr. Truman here

* Dr. Hammond's *Pacific Discourse*, Lond. 1660. p. 52. §. 75, &c. Bull, Harm. Apost.

argueth that all these high words are but an empty sound, and that it would be absurd for any one hereupon to pray to God, that he would graciously cause him by his Spirit to improve his talent, and make use of the power committed to him, if God do no more than merely give the talent or power, which he doth unto all : and if this be the meaning, as he supposeth it to be of Mr. Bull, and all the remonstrant divines, God's grace and kindness towards men is not at all exalted by any such expressions ; and a man is no more obliged to special thankfulness and gratitude for the work of his conversion, than if it were said, God by his supernatural grace made us men, that is, endued us with understanding and will. And he saith it is all one, whether one call this power the *remote* and fundamental, or the *proximate* power of free-will, while there is meant by it only that power without which they that enjoy the privileges of the Gospel have no sin. For if this be the import of all these great words concerning grace, and supernatural grace, given to all that enjoy the Gospel of Christ, that it giveth them only this

proximate power, by which the will being emancipated is at liberty to obey the Gospel, God going no farther by his Spirit with any in order to their conversion ; and that this power, call it what you will, doth *all* in conversion, and in causing the difference ; and that therefore *all* the good is done by supernatural grace only, and *nothing* is properly imputable to man in the whole work of his conversion : the learned rectifier contendeth, that all this is really nothing ; that it manifestly tendeth to confound supernatural grace and common providence together ; and to argue thus is no less illogical, than to say, *Mandoth all in improving the Gospel to his own conversion ; therefore God doth all.* To conclude, he highly commendeth that sober sentiment of the great Bishop Sanderson, who confessing his own disability to reconcile the consistency of grace and free-will in conversion, and being sensible that they must both be maintained, tells us “ * He ever held “ and still doth hold it the more pious and

* See Dr. Hammond's Letter to Dr. Sanderson, concerning God's Grace, &c. §. 90, 91.

“ safe way to place the grace of God in the
“ throne, where we think it should stand, and
“ so to leave the will of man to shift for the
“ maintenance of its own freedom, as well as it
“ can ; than to establish the power and liberty
“ of free-will at its height, and then to be at
“ a loss how to maintain the power and efficacy
“ of God's grace.”

Besides these, there are some few other objections which he made against Mr. Bull's book ; as particularly, that though he gave indeed the true sense of many verses in the fourth chapter to the Romans, yet he feigneth the apostle to bring them in too desultorily ; that he is mistaken in stating the case of Abraham from St. Paul, making that to be before, which was really after the divine calling, and his believing ; that upon his principles men might after their conversion live perfectly, and do as much as they are required to do by the word of God ; and that his inference from the defended and received opinions amongst the Jews, about the nature of obedience to their law, is not well supported. And whereas Mr. Bull hath spent a whole

chapter in citing out of some authors certain sayings of the Jews, in defence of the power of free-will, without the assisting grace of the Spirit, he will have it that many of them may be capable of no ill construction: and that they possibly mean no more than that men have the natural power of free-will, without which they cannot be men from God's common providence; and not that the will is not in a moral sense insuperably wicked without grace.

As to what Mr. Bull had written concerning the ritual and ceremonial law, and the works thereof, as circumcision, sacrifices, and the like; or concerning the Jewish interpretations of the whole body of the Mosaic law, containing under it the moral law; or concerning human inventions and additions to it, and the several erroneous opinions of many of the learned Jews in respect to it; or concerning the most pernicious solifidianism of the Gnostic heretics; or, lastly, concerning the several contrary errors and mistakes of some Christian sects, which are with great judgment considered by him in his Epilogue;

Mr. Truman, with all his metaphysical subtilty, could find nothing herein to condemn : yea, he expressly commendeth him for having shewn out of the Jewish writers, that it was a vulgar error among them, to imagine that they perfectly fulfilled God's law, and did all that was required by it, though they did but some few externals only ; as thinking that those commandments which require the obedience of the heart or internal righteousness and holiness, were only matter of counsel, and not strictly of precept ; and instead of bringing up their lives to the law, maintaining such opinions as brought the law down to their lives.

Upon the whole he thinketh it improbable that every chapter of both dissertations of Mr. Bull should be revised and approved by so able a divine as Dr. Nicholson, bishop of Gloucester : and suspecteth, that he had great temptations to pretend his approbation of the whole and every part of it, to gain repute to his opinion, " by the great name of so reverend a prelate and so learned a writer." And concluding, that he had said enough to

shew the danger and inconsistency of some prevailing opinions concerning the nature of grace and the Mosaic dispensation ; he insinuateth nevertheless, that he might probably write more hereupon, if urged to it ; and did accordingly begin soon after a treatise upon the covenant of grace, which he lived not to finish : for, saith he, “ my great aversation to “ such principles” (common to Dr. Hammond and Mr. Bull) “ will much incline me upon “ an easy call to oppose the prevalency of “ them ; till I shall see some fitter man of “ our own church and language where they “ prevail (as I doubt not but that there are “ many, whose abilities and circumstances “ make them far more fit) willing to under- “ take it, and save the labour of my weak “ endeavours.” From which it appeareth, that Mr. Truman was very far from the sentiments of the rigid dissenters ; and that he did not totally leave our church upon the Act of Uniformity ; but did consider himself still as a Church of England man, some lesser matters only excepted.

Mr. Bull, not long after, wrote an *answer in English to Mr. Truman, which yet was never published, wherein we are told his hypothesis was fully examined, and all his objections replied to; not without the consentient testimony of all the catholic doctors of the church, both before and after the rise of Pelagius, and of the ancient Jewish rabbins. For out of a fear that offence might be given to the common people, by handling certain abstruse and profound questions, to the treating yet of which he was necessitated by the exceeding great subtleties of this writer; he was willing that what he had thus written should not come abroad, but only be communicated to a few friends, whose testimony he appealed to herein. In this answer to Mr. Truman he set himself to overturn his fundamental distinction of natural and moral impotence, and to shew the many absurd consequences flowing from such a position, and how that at the bottom it was neither more nor less than downright Pelagianism. In it he endeavoured to prove that the law of

* Appendix ad Exa. Cen. Animad. 17. §. 6.

nature, as considered in itself, or the moral law, prescribeth not a most perfect and absolute righteousness, but is contented with that which is much inferior to that which is required by the Gospel: and moreover, that eternal life was not due at all to the observation of that law. Also he maintaineth, that man, even in the state of innocence, had not a natural power or ability of obtaining by the perfect obedience of the law an heavenly immortality: and that besides the perfection and integrity of nature wherein he was made, he was likewise endowed with the divine Spirit, as with a principle of the divine nature; by which his natural faculties, otherwise insufficient, were improved and exalted to the attainment of the superior paradise, whereof the inferior was a type. This he saith is abundantly made out in his English papers against Mr. Truman, though not in a style so very fit for vulgar readers: and having represented the strangeness and inconsistency of his hypothesis, which he saith was borrowed from Amyraldus, he sheweth how from one absurdity a multitude of other absurdities cannot

but flow; how upon his principles it is possible for every man, if he hath but his natural faculties sound, perfectly to fulfil the law of God, when sufficiently made known to him, without the assistance of any inward grace; how it is naturally possible, but at the same time morally impossible: how God may lawfully require of fallen man most perfect obedience, without either giving him, or being ready to give him, any grace, by which that obedience may be wrought; how the law of nature to those that shall keep it can give life everlasting; how the evangelical law doth not convey together with it grace and power, to perform the obedience which it requireth; and that this grace is only given according to the good pleasure of God, to some few thereunto ordained; but that all the rest are justly damned, because they might have lived well if they would, but that they had not power to will it. This, by those hints which he himself hath given of it, seemeth to have been the substance of what was written by him in English on occasion of Mr. Truman's two mentioned books, his *Discourse of Natural*

and Moral Impotency, and his Endeavours to rectify some prevailing Opinions.

But Mr. Bull being engaged, as he thought, to vindicate himself against Mr. Charles Gataker's Animadversions upon his Harmony, thought it also convenient to answer Mr. Truman in Latin ; as to the principal objections made against him, Dr. Hammond, and Bishop Taylor, thereby to render his reply more full and complete. And this he hath done, both in his Appendix to the Examination of the xviith Animadversion, and in his answers to the xixth, xxist, and xxiid Animadversions of Gataker, relating to the two-fold defect of the Mosaic dispensation. Where he learnedly and strenuously defendeth what he had advanced in his former book, concerning the grounds of the impossibility of justification by the law, for which he is so severely handled by Gataker, Truman, and others ; and laboureth to prove, that the opinion of his adversaries therein is strictly and properly Pelagian ; and that his only is the true Catholic doctrine, supported by the authority of St. Augustin and other orthodox fathers.

He is very large in discussing the question, whether there was any law or covenant, distinct from the Gospel, requiring perfect righteousness of fallen man, with the promise of eternal life if he did perform it, and under the penalty of eternal damnation if he did not. And having explained the state of the question, he proceedeth and defendeth the true Catholic opinion thereupon in the following theses.

1. The covenant of life made with Adam in his state of innocence, was by his transgression of the same made void not only for himself, but for his posterity also ; so that now all the children of Adam, as such, are the children of death, that is, are excluded wholly from all promise of immortal life, and are subjected to the necessity of death, without any hopes of a resurrection. 2. All those of the posterity of fallen Adam, who are altogether destitute of divine revelation, and to whom the new covenant of life hath not yet been manifest, are under the obligation of no law but that of nature. 3. The law of nature, (which is the dictate of reason,) so far as it is considered in fallen man, as destitute of

the Spirit, and of divine revelation, doth not prescribe the most perfect and absolute virtue, nor is an immortal and heavenly life due to the observation of this law. 4. God never entered into any covenant of eternal life with the posterity of fallen Adam, but what was confirmed and established in our Saviour Christ ; and must consequently have been the very Gospel itself, according to that of the apostle, *The gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* 5. The Gospel, or the Law of Christ, though it prescribe a religion that is most excellent and perfect, especially as it is most fully revealed in the books of the New Testament, doth not command any thing to man in his fallen state, but that which is possible to be fulfilled by the grace which it promiseth. 6. Though according to the Gospel, or Law of Christ, all those degrees of righteousness, which are possible for us by the grace of the same Gospel to be performed, are binding to us ; yet they are not all binding strictly and precisely under the penalty of everlasting damnation. Forasmuch as the evangelical law doth not for every default

whatsoever, yea, though by grace it could have been avoided, denounce against man exclusion from the kingdom of heaven, and much less doth it threaten hell torments for this; but only for such sins as are repugnant to the very end of the law, the love of God above all things, and do more immediately resist the divine loving-kindness. 7. The extraordinary indulgence of the Gospel doth herein eminently shine forth, that it promiseth forgiveness of all, even of the most grievous sins, committed either before or after the grace of it shall be received, upon condition of repentance: but then this repentance, so far as it relateth to the more grievous sins, which are called deadly, must be most exact and perfectly practical. These are the seven pillars upon which his whole superstructure, concerning the difference of the first and second covenant, and his comparison of the Law and the Gospel, doth subsist. And he concludeth against Mr. Truman, that if the covenant of life made with Adam was annulled by his sin, both for himself and his posterity; if the posterity of Adam, to whom the new

covenant of life hath not been revealed, are only bound to the observance of the moral and natural law, which cannot of itself give eternal life; and if there be no other new covenant of life entered into by God with fallen mankind, then certainly there is no covenant or law, prior to the Gospel, and distinguished from it, which doth require of lapsed man the most absolute obedience, and most perfect virtue, with regard to eternal rewards and punishments in another life. Also against him he disputeth both from the Scriptures and Fathers, that the Gospel is a *ministration of spirit*, so that the Spirit of Christ must be individually conjoined with his law, that commanding nothing which his grace is not sufficient to perform. And he disputeth against him, that it was not only the common opinion of all the Catholic doctors who lived before Pelagius, that a man might by the grace of Christ fulfil all his commandments; but that it was the very sentiment also of the greatest enemies of the Pelagian heresy, and most eminent writers against it, as particularly of St.

Augustin, and St. Hierom, with our venerable Bede.

The hypothesis of Mr. Truman, as established in both his discourses, being this: "That the reasonings of St. Paul against "justification by the Mosaical law, suppose "that law to require an impossible condition "of justification, or such an absolute righteousness as no man through his *moral impotence* can ever discharge;" our author endeavoureth to demonstrate, that the reasonings of that apostle in his Epistles, both to the Romans and the Galatians, go upon quite another foundation; and that they suppose that in the Mosaical law, as understood according to the letter, there was no true justification at all, or remission of sins reaching beyond this life, ever set forth. And truly if this be not demonstrated by those many arguments and testimonies which he hath brought; it must at least be confessed, that so much is here said against the contrary opinion, as to render it very highly improbable. And as for his objection of the spirituality of

the law, about which he hath said indeed so many fine things, Mr. Bull here distinguisheth, and saith it was generally the opinion of the ancients, that the word *law* is taken in Scripture in several senses; that in St. Paul's Epistles it is taken either according to the letter, or else according to the spirit: and that this last is no other than the very Gospel itself, as being hid under ancient figures, and covered over with the veil of ceremonies, first explained by Moses himself, as well as the time could then bear; next by the succeeding prophets more clearly manifested; and last of all, by Christ and his apostles most fully revealed as the sun at noon-day: that those encomiums which are attributed to the law, of being spiritual, holy, &c. are properly applicable to it, as taken according to the spirit, or for the Gospel itself: that whensoever St. Paul detracteth from the law, or denieth justification to be by the works of it, he then always understandeth it as taken according to the letter. And, lastly, that the apostle doth very fitly take the law either in one sense or in the other, either spiritually or carnally,

according to the differing sentiments of those to whom he wrote his Epistles. And whereas Mr. Truman had objected against Mr. Bull, that his degrading the laws of Mount Sinai so low as he had done, was in effect a reflection upon God himself, the author of it ; and that he had misinterpreted St. Paul, by making him say, That the law did not promise such things, as that a man had need of faith, which is the evidence of things not seen, to believe them ; but promised only things of sense, not of faith : and also by supposing the apostle's meaning, Gal. iii. 21. to be, that the fault was in the law, not in the men ; because if the law promised it, men would have attained life by that law : and so making an excuse thereby for the carnal and servile genius of the generality of the Jews, as suited to their law ; if the law of Mount Sinai was indeed such a dispensation of servitude, and fit to beget in men a mean and servile disposition of mind : Mr. Bull answereth, that it would be very unjust to charge God herewith, seeing that by his wise and gracious providence, sufficient care was taken that the Jews

might not stick in the letter of the Mount Sinai law, but might look beyond it. For he sheweth how God provided that the tradition of life to come, derived down by the patriarchs, either immediately from himself or otherwise, might be kept up under the law, and be both expounded and confirmed by the sermons of the prophets, whom he raised up in their several ages for instruction and conduct to his people. He saith, the patriarchal tradition is clear, both by the prophecy and example of Enoch ; and that the subsistence of the soul, after the death of the body, was hence believed by the most ancient Jews who lived after the delivery of the law by Moses. And this he especially gathereth and confirmeth, from the history of King Saul consulting the pythoress of Endor, and seeking of her, that he might have some discourse with Samuel that was then dead ; which he would never certainly have done, had he not believed the soul of the deceased prophet to survive. He argueth also to the same effect from the original of necromancy, the most ancient of all divinations, founded upon this separate

subsistence of the soul; from the gospel of Moses, or his sermon in the plains of Moab, wherein he calleth the Israelites off from the outward ceremonies of the law which he had taught them, to inward godliness: and from the circumcision of the flesh to the circumcision of the heart: and expressly admonisheth them, that the whole business of their salvation did turn upon this one precept, of loving God with all their heart: and from the prophetic testimony, more especially instancing in such passages of *Samuel and David, of Isaiah, Jeremiah, of Hoseah and Micah, as are herein most clear and express. Whence he concludeth, that the Jews, who in St. Paul's time stuck to the bare letter of the Mount Sinai law; whether they were Pharisees, who acknowledged indeed a mystery in the letter of the promise, but could not see beyond the letter of the precept; or whether they were Sadducees, who understood both the promises and precepts of the Mosaical

* 1 Sam. xv. 22. Psal. i. 1—17. and li. 16, 17. Isai. i. 10—21. Jerem. vii. 21, 22, 23. Hos. vi. 6. Mic. vi. 6, 7, 8.

law, according to the letter only ; were without excuse. So that, after all, the difference betwixt Mr. Truman and Mr. Bull, will be found very inconsiderable.

At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, there was published at Oxford, after much expectation, *Permissu Superiorum*, according as the title-page expresseth it, a Latin treatise ; which was inscribed, *Justificatio Paulina sine operibus, ex mente Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt asserta et illustrata contra nuperas NOVATORES: Authore Tho. Tullio, S. T. P. &c.* That is, Justification, as delivered by St. Paul, *without works*, asserted and illustrated according to the sense of the Church of England, and of all the rest of the Reformed Churches, against the late innovators, by Thomas Tully, D. D. and Principal of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, &c. with the permission of Superiors ; in 4to. To this was also added, another short tract at the end, in answer more particularly to the ninth chapter of Mr. Bull's second disserta-

tion of his *Harmonia*, without ever mentioning his name, under the title of *Dissertatiuncula de Sententia Paulina, Rom. vii. a com. 14; in qua ostenditur Paulum de se loqui regenito, non autem in persona hominis nondum regeniti. i. e.* A short Dissertation, concerning the meaning of St. Paul, in the viith to the Romans, from the 14th verse; wherein is shewn, that St. Paul speaketh not in the person of a man unregenerate, but of himself regenerate. Now, notwithstanding that the author was encouraged to the publication of this book by Bishop Morley; *who read it over in manuscript, not without some shew of approbation; the Appendix aforesaid only excepted, which we are told was revised and approved by another learned prelate of our church, whose name is not indeed expressed; but whom I suppose to have been the then Bishop of Lincoln, even his good friend Dr. Barlow, lately advanced to that see; it is yet said, he met with no small obstructions in the bringing it forth, and was forced at last to make use of an artifice, before he could obtain

* Epist. Dedic. p. 8.

leave to have it printed: whence he calleth this his book, **Infælicis Horoscopi fœtus*; as if it were born under an unfortunate planet: and so heavily complaineth of the hardness of its parent's labour, as also of his being threatened with a smart answer. Of the occasion and motives for his engaging in this controversy, enough hath been said already. Of the contents and method of his book, so far at least as Mr. Bull was therein concerned, it remains now to give some account, for the affording a light to the history of this controversy, and to some part of the life of so eminent a writer in our church, as this that I am now employed in.

He stateth then the question after this manner. There is no disagreement, saith he, between them about the sense of the word *justification*; and he alloweth these four things, viz. 1. That the faith which justifieth is not barren, and fruitless of good works. 2. That the radical seeds or habits of the other virtues are also infused together into the soul along with faith. 3. That good

* Pref. p. 7.

works are needful to salvation; so that without them it cannot be attained. 4. That justification may, in a declarative sense, be attributed to works of righteousness; all this he freely yieldeth to Mr. Bull. But the *τὸ κρινόμενον* in this controversy, according to him, “is that, for the sake of which God may “receive a sinner to grace, may acquit him “from the curse of the law, and may make “him an heir of everlasting life.” And it is here agreed, that on God’s part this must be the merit of Christ, and that alone; the only difference ariseth from the application of this merit; that is, whether it be by faith and works together, or else by the former alone. This latter opinion is by him maintained to be the doctrine of the Church of England, and the Catholic Church, and particularly of all the churches that are called Reformed: and the other he accuseth of great singularity and novelty, which he undertaketh to prove, but with what success, is left to the learned and candid examiner to judge. For he* challengeth all the Fathers, both before and

* Cap. ii. p. 12.

after St. Augustin, to be of his opinion; most heavily charging, at the same time, the contrary one, as unsupported by any one Christian writer. He readily yieldeth indeed, that there are different uses of the word *justification* found among the holy Fathers; but contendeth, that they all universally agree in the thing itself, and stand up against the righteousness of works, for the righteousness of faith, in our acceptance with God. And thus having claimed the judgment of the catholic Fathers, without so much as one of them excepted, to be unanimously for him; and triumphed over Mr. Bull, as he thought, on this head, where his greatest excellency was generally esteemed to lie; he proceedeth to *explain the doctrine of the Church of England, from her Articles and Homilies, insisting very much upon the literal and grammatical sense of them, and from the testimony of some of her most learned writers, such as Mr. Hooker and Bishop Andrews; and then †passeth on to the judgment of the foreign reformed churches; instancing in the

* Cap. iii. p. 20.

† Cap. iv. p. 28.

several confessions of the Protestants of Germany, France, Holland, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Switzerland, besides the oriental confessions of faith by Cyrillus Lucaris. All which he hath endeavoured to bring over to his side, not without some appearance of truth, and appealed to as witnesses for him, against the Harmonist.

Now having laboured to establish his own opinion, which he supposeth to be the faith of the Church of England, and to fortify it by the authority of Fathers and Synods, and by the whole strength of the Reformation; his next endeavour is, to enquire how Mr. Bull, or any other, the matter appearing to him so very plain, could possibly fall into the contrary opinion. Wherefore the far greatest part of his book is taken up in discovering what he is pleased to call the *fountains of this error*. The 1st of these is, according to him, the *abuse of the doctrine concerning justification, as by him explained, or the fear of Antinomianism; and upon this he spends a whole chapter. The 2d is the †distinction

* Cap. v. p. 39.

† Cap. vi. p. 44, 167.

between justifying works and the merit of them ; upon this he hath also another chapter, and is large in discussing the meaning of that distinction, *ex operibus* and *propter opera*. The 3d is the *exclusion of some works, and the admission of the rest, contrary (as he will have it) to the express mind of St. Paul. The 4th is the imputative righteousness of Christ, either exploded, or not rightly understood ; which he maintaineth to be a very great cause of error in this matter. The 5th is the manner of arguing from the †concomitance of works with faith, for the justification by works. The 6th is the misunderstanding the || nature of justifying faith. The 7th and last is the §symbolizing with Popery. These he maketh the seven sources, or causes of departing from the unity of the church's doctrine, concerning justification, as the same is stated by him ; and to make this out he hath spared no labour ; and hath said some things that are not amiss. This enquiry

* Cap. vii. p. 52.

† Cap. viii. p. 76.

‡ Cap. ix. p. 96, 170.

|| Cap. x. p. 104.

§ Cap. xi. p. 115.

being finished, the last chapter was reserved by him for the *reconciliation of St. Paul and St. James. But he thinketh there was no need of it, and condemneth the Harmonist and others for being at so much pains, where there was so little occasion for it; there being no disagreement at all, saith he, between them, seeing that they speak not of the same faith or justification, and so cannot differ. However, he commendeth Mr. Bull's industry, and wisheth only that he might employ his parts for the cause of truth, and of the Christian faith. This treatise Dr. Tully was willing should be thought to have been written by him, in defence of the XIth Article of the Church of England. It was learnedly writ, and with some spirit, and by many at first it was approved of, who concluded, that he had the better of the Harmonist, especially in his 2d, 3d, and 4th chapters, where his chief strength was thought to consist, and in the conclusion.

As Dr. Tully's treatise of Justification was

* Cap. xii. p. 131.

pretended to be written in defence of the XIth, so was his dissertation of Original Sin, which is his commentary on the seventh to the Romans, no less pretended to be written in defence of the IXth Article of our religion. The principal design whereof is to explain and defend these following propositions, and more particularly the last of them, viz. 1. Original sin is the depravation of nature, propagated from Adam to every man. 2. By this depravation man is very much departed from original righteousness, and hath a natural propensity to evil, the flesh lusting always against the spirit. 3. This very depravation and corruption of nature is not only at first in every person born into this world, but doth remain even in them that are regenerate. 4. The permanence of such depravation in the regenerate is confessed and avowed by St. Paul, and that even in his own person : and this hath of itself the nature of sin, and is thence no less than seven times called by the name of *sin* in this very seventh to the Romans. Here he mightily triumpheth over the Harmonist, as he every where calls him,

for understanding St. Paul no better, and for not attending enough to the doctrine of his own church. He chargeth him with too much precipitancy and magisterialness in judging, with affectation of novelty, with not rightly numbering the votes of the ancient Christian writers, with reviving a calumny of Pelagius against them, and with mistaking the sense of the apostle several times, and wresting it with vain and groundless criticisms. And he endeavoureth to shew, how among the fathers, Augustin and Hierom are flatly against the Harmonist, though they were at first, before they had examined into the matter, of another opinion ; how Hilary also, Nazianzen, and others, before the disputes between Pelagius and Augustin, had the same sentiment ; how a probable reason may be given, why Origen, Chrysostome, and Theodoret were of another mind ; that Aquinas, Salmero, Pererius, A. Lapide, and Estius, among the Roman writers, and even the Catechism of Trent itself, are against his interpretations ; and how the arguments which he hath brought for the defence thereof, are

not able to bear up his hypothesis, which seemeth to him grounded upon a Pelagian bottom, or upon the great Diana (as he will needs have it) of free-will. It seems that Dr. Tully was persuaded, that if he could but overthrow Mr. Bull's interpretation of this place in St. Paul, he should thereby be able to overturn at once the whole fabric of his Harmonia; and indeed, Mr. Bull himself had before given the hint:* therefore he is so long on this point, considering it as the most fundamental one in the whole building; to subvert which, he was hence for leaving no stone unturned. This dissertation is by some looked on as the most considerable part of the Doctor's performance in this cause: and is more than once taken notice of by Mr. Bull,† as that which deserved his most particular answer and further consideration. For he thought there was little else besides in what Dr. Tully had written against him, but what he had already answered, in examination of

* Harm. Apost. dissert. ii. cap. 9. n. 27.

† Pref. ad Examen. n. 3. Pref. ad Apol. n. 2. Apol. sect. ix. n. 1.

Mr. Gataker's angry animadversions: and that this only had the face of any thing like a direct answer to that part of his book, which was referred to by it.

In the year 1675, soon after the death of Dr. Tully, and about the end of the year, was published by our author, **An Examination of the Censure, or an Answer to certain Animadversions, never before published upon a book, intituled, The Apostolical Harmony, &c. By George Bull, a Presbyter of the Church of England.* With which was joined also this other book of his, intituled, *†An Apology for the Apostolical Harmony, and the Author thereof, against the Declamation of Thomas Tully, D. D. in a book lately set forth by him, under the title*

** Examen Censuræ sive Responsio ad quasdam Animadversiones antehac ineditas, in Librum cui titulus Harmonia Apostolica, &c. per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum.*

† Apologia pro Harmonia ejusque Authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii, S. T. P. in libro nuper typis evulgato quem Justificatio Paulina, &c. inscripsit.

of Justificatio Paulina. There is a sufficient account given in the prefaces to both these discourses, of the reason why they were both published together, and why so late also : and therefore it would be very foolish to object, that it is an easy matter to fight against dead men ; for it was not Mr. Bull's fault that both these replies were not printed while his adversaries were yet alive. And he is certainly to be commended, that as soon as he heard of Dr. Tully's death, he took immediate care to have several passages blotted out of the sheets remaining to be printed, because they contained some pretty sharp reflections upon him, though they were true in fact, and by some of Mr. Bull's friends thought too necessary to be omitted. Mr. Bull also professeth, as a good Christian, that he would willingly have struck out a great deal more, if it was possible to have been done without a very great injury to the truth ; for as to what he might suffer in his own person through such an omission, he was not solicitous. This upon several occasions he repeateth ; and certainly he may deserve to be believed in it, when he maketh

such a profession of his sincerity before God and the world.

So far as Gataker and Truman are concerned in the first of these treatises, there hath been enough said already: but there remaineth still one observation to be made concerning it, which respecteth the author himself. And this I cannot but here mention, because I look upon it as a greater vindication of our author, both against them and all his other adversaries, than any one that hath hitherto been mentioned; and as a greater instance of his candour and love of truth, than is to be met with in most writers at this day. I observe therefore, that his *Examen* ought not to be considered barely as an answer to his adversaries' objections, but moreover as a fuller explication of his own sentiments. For* he very solemnly assureth us, that when he was above forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* several times; that he did this with as much seriousness and impartiality as it was possible for him; and that he earnestly prayed to God

* Apolog. sect. viii. n. 5.

in the first place, that he would vouchsafe to enlighten his mind with a beam of his heavenly light, and to discover unto him every error of his whatsoever, against the divine truth ; that for this end, he did his utmost to strip himself of all self-love, and of fondness for his own work ; yea, that he made also a vow,* and most solemnly and sacredly bound himself to God, that upon the discovery of his errors, he would openly and publicly before the church renounce them, without the least regard had therein to his own reputation. Upon which review of his work, so accurately and so religiously performed, he declareth, that there were some things in it which might have been explained more clearly and fully, and which, indeed, ought to have been so, for the sake at least of younger readers ; and that therefore he had endeavoured to supply this explication as well as he could in his *Examen*. Moreover he confesses, that he

* Quibus [precibus] sancte quoque vovi et spondi, me ostensos errores, susque deque habita existimatione mea, palam et publice coram ecclesia abrenuntiaturum. *Ibid.*

had discovered his interpretation of a difficult place or two in St. Paul, not to be so certain as he at first thought: but that he could not learn any that was more certain. Wherefore also, he is not for insisting at all upon what is in its nature obscure and difficult, or what requireth an exactness of critical skill, or what is only incidental and circumstantial, but only upon the main of the argument, which he *supposeth he hath sufficiently cleared. And however he may possibly be mistaken in some lesser matters, he protesteth, that as to the substance of the doctrine of man's justification, which is by him defended according to the mind of both apostles, he is not without the highest degree of certainty of his being in the right. To give some few instances of matters, explained by Mr. Bull in this latter piece, which wanted to be more distinctly and fully stated, it may be sufficient to mention the †form of justifying faith, the imputative righteousness of Christ, the questions about the Mosaical law, and the nature

* Exam. Cens. Ep. Apol.

† Exam. Cens. p. 8, 35, 74, 76, 88, 96.

of the first covenant with man in his state of integrity.

And as to the other treatise, written in answer to Dr. Tully, the same observation will also hold good. For there are abundance of passages in this up and down, which do clearly confirm the great sincerity and ingenuity of our author, in the management of this controversy. And if this be not a fair and full apology, both for himself and his *Harmonia*, against what was objected by that Reverend Doctor and his revisors, there never was a cause in the world fairly and fully defended. And I must needs say also, that he hath made the best apology for his adversary too, that could be made, in one article, wherein he is contrary to him, and which by parity of reason may be extended to the rest of the articles in like manner, wherein they do not agree. For with much ingenuity he confesseth, “ That *Dr. Tully had not a few “ divines of the Church of England, and “ those of some eminence also in it, who had “ led him into the error; but that these

* Apol. sect. n. 11, 7.

“learned men lived in those times, when by
“the arts of some certain persons that were
“extremely wedded to the Geneva divinity,
“matters were come to that pass, that it was
“hardly safe for any one to interpret either
“the Articles of our church, or even the
“holy Scriptures themselves, otherwise than
“according to the standard of Calvin’s Insti-
“tutions, whose error therefore, saith he,
“ought not so much to be imputed to them,
“as to the age wherein they lived. Since
“almost in every age, as one hath well ob-
“served, there is as it were a certain torrent
“of opinions proper to it, against which,
“whosoever shall go to oppose himself, he
“will certainly either be carried away with
“the violence thereof, or be quite over-
“whelmed.” This is an observation that is
very just ; and the candour of Mr. Bull, in
the application of it, ought not, I think, to be
quite passed over in silence. Nay, did I know
a better excuse for Dr. Tully, and other good
and learned men, who were educated in such
times, and according to such principles, and
so were carried on by the zeal of what was

called orthodox ; I would be as willing to do him and them right, as the worthy person whose life I am writing. But I know no better than that which this judicious apologist hath made himself on their behalf. There are not a few instances besides in this very treatise, which prove him a sincere as well as a learned writer, but which cannot be here insisted on. It is much to be lamented, that so good a man as Dr. Tully was generally esteemed to be, should so unhappily be engaged in a controversy of this nature, but especially, that he should be so far transported in the management of it, as not to examine, with a due care, the arguments and authorities of his author, whom he proposed to answer : and thereby should lay himself too open to a just censure, and should hurt his reputation so far, as even to render himself by this means suspected of some insincerity. Yet it is to be feared, that this hath been the case of many an honest man, who by the strength of prejudice and an impetuosity of zeal, may have been carried much farther than ever was designed, to the no small prejudice

of the truth. But for Mr. Bull it must needs be acknowledged, that with a very laudable diligence he spared no pains, that he might thoroughly and impartially examine all that ever his adversary could bring against him : neither must it be denied, that he hath made such just and reasonable concessions, as render his own cause the stronger, while they yield to the opposite that which it might lawfully demand. And indeed, this his apology is written with so much masterly strength and judgment, that a very learned *foreigner called it the *triumph of the Church of England* in this cause.

Now whereas the authority of certain foreign divines had been made use of in this controversy by Dr. Tully and others, against the catholic tradition of this article, as explained and maintained in the *Harmonia* ; our apologist affirms it to be most unreasonable, and against the principles of the Church of England, to prefer the authority of any modern doctor or doctors whatsoever, before a truth grounded upon Scripture, with the unanimous

* Dr. Grabe.

consent of the Catholic Church. Upon this occasion, he taketh notice of what Bishop Jewel had urged before, in his Apology for our Reformation, that it was founded purely upon catholic principles, and upon the model of the primitive church ; by which means the new discipline introduced by Calvin being rejected, the order of episcopacy was retained, and the most ancient forms of public prayers, and sacred rites, and several primitive doctrines, not in the least agreeable with Calvin's notions, which are by him there particularized, were established and confirmed. And as for the judgment of the Church of England upon this point, he appealeth to a canon made in full convocation, A. D. 1571, and afterwards confirmed by Queen Elizabeth, whereby it is ordained, that all preachers *shall chiefly take heed, that they teach nothing but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the catholic Fathers and primitive Bishops have thence collected.* And moreover he cites a constitution of King James the First, requiring all candidates of divinity not to spend much of

their time in systems and compendiums, but to apply themselves seriously to the study of such books, as are agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and particularly to the reading of the fathers, councils, schoolmen, histories : and to this he adds the testimonies of many eminent writers in our church, to the same purpose ; professing themselves most readily to embrace, next to the sacred books, the consentient testimony of the ancient fathers ; and that they were not willing to admit any thing, either in the doctrine or government of the church, which should not be agreeable to it.

Upon which the most learned and pious editor of his works could not forbear expressing his most hearty wishes, that there were many more of the same opinion, who would not refuse to submit their private thoughts and interpretations of Scripture, to be determined by primitive and universal tradition ; hoping that this might be a means of restoring the church to a better state. Our author now hath clearly given his judgment in this matter, and hath declared himself in more

than one place, that this is the best, yea the only way of ending our most unhappy controversies, which have rent the church of Christ at this day into so many parts, if next to the Scriptures, we would receive and reverence the most pure and primitive antiquity, and persuade others to the same practice, and religiously follow the agreeing judgment of the ancient doctors approved by the catholic church, and especially of them who were nearest to the apostolical age, wheresoever this can be found ; which he asserteth is to be found in all those points that are of any great moment ; and as for the rest, his advice is, that every one be left to the liberty of his own judgment, but so as not to disturb the peace of the church.

And whereas Dr. Tully had among other things *objected also against him, his being but little acquainted with the ancient Fathers of the church, when he published his *Harmonia* ; and that therefore he should not have attempted to write when his skill in antiquity

END OF THE * Apol. sect. iv.

was so moderate ; Mr. Bull modestly acknowledged, *omnia mea modica*, that he had no great matter indeed to boast of in any part of learning : but however he gives him to understand, that for no less than five years before he wrote his *Harmonia*, he had addicted himself to the study of the Fathers, next to the holy Scriptures ; and more especially of the writers of the three first centuries ; and likewise acquainteth him, that he had been advised to this method of reading, by a very great man in the church, who had admonished him to lay the foundation of his theological studies after that manner, and so to read downwards ; whose memory was had in great honour by him. He leaves us to guess who this great man was, because he doth not name him, though it is probable, that it was either Bishop Pearson or Bishop Nicholson ; but whoever gave the advice, he reckoneth it the happiest he ever did receive ; and he wisheth that he might be but worthy to prevail on the candidates of divinity in Oxford to follow the same method.

Then he giveth the history of the consent

of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, in favour of his interpretation, down to St. Augustin ; and sheweth, that if any of these speak of justification as by faith alone, they never once take it for faith simply and abstractedly considered, but only as it is perfectly formed and animated, and so not separated from inward contrition and charity ; and as the same is opposed either to external works in general, and the actual righteousness of such ; or to the works of the law of nature, performed before and without the knowledge, faith, and grace of the Gospel ; or to the works of the Mosaical law ; or to any others wrought from a principle of merit in the creature. And because Dr. Tully professeth so high an esteem for St. Augustin, as to prefer him to all antiquity, our apologist concludeth his catalogue of the Fathers with him, and clearly proveth that Father to be of his, and not of the Doctor's mind ; and this not only from some scattered passages in him, but from the whole design of his book, *De fide et operibus*, whereof an account is here given. Thus having done with the Fathers,

He proceedeth next to examine the *judgment of the Church of England, and how truly this is represented by his adversary. And though he had abundantly before explained himself on this head, yet this being a very tender point, and so eagerly pressed by every one that had appeared against him, but most of all by this last answerer, Mr. Bull found himself under a necessity of omitting nothing that could tend to clear him from that aspersion, which was likely to prejudice people's minds most against him, and most sensibly to affect him and his ministry. Wherefore he is very large and particular in defending the true doctrine of the Church of England, and in refuting the Doctor's allegations against him, from the Articles and the Homilies. After which, he examineth also with great accuracy, the judgment of the foreign reformed churches, by their several Confessions : and he is very full in vindicating the Confession of Ausburgh, which he had styled the most noble of all the reformed churches ; and shewing how it was

* Apol. sect. v.

followed by our first reformers, and particularly by them in compiling our Articles. Nor doth he omit any thing considerable, that could be said upon the head of all the rest of the Confessions, to prove that they taught, that besides faith, true repentance was moreover necessary for the obtaining remission of sins and justification. Where the words of the noble Confession of Strasbourgh, which had been misinterpreted by his adversary, are by him challenged; and some passages which had been cited from others very much illustrated.

And having fully justified the conformity of his doctrine to the determination of the Church of England, and to that of the other reformed churches, he goeth on to shew, that his learned adversary hath in several points contradicted both. By which he is led into the consideration of several other matters of the greatest moment, which are here distinctly and fundamentally handled; and the true catholic doctrine stated and vindicated, in opposition to certain novel opinions. More

particularly, he chargeth his adversary with maintaining these four heterodoxies among others; 1st, That *repentance is no ways necessary for obtaining the first justification, or pardon for sin. †2d, That our justification, being once obtained by faith alone, the continuation of it doth not depend upon the condition of good works, to be performed by us for the time to come. 3d, ‡That a man being once endowed with justifying faith, can never afterwards so far fall from it as to be lost for ever. 4th, ||That Christ did only satisfy and offer himself upon the cross for the sins of the elect. All which positions he proveth to be repugnant to the clear and express definitions of the Church of England, and of other reformed churches, and indeed of the whole catholic church.

And whereas Dr. Tully had pretended, that the Harmonist had but very few of the ancients of his opinion, as to his interpretation of the seventh to the Romans; and that after the life of Pelagius, all or almost all of the

* Apol. sect. vii. n. 1.

† N. 6.

‡ Apol. vii. n. 7—24.

|| N. 24, &c.

fathers were express against him ; and that of modern divines, he had not above one or two of any eminency for him ; Mr. Bull hath proved, that besides Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Macarius, Origen, Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and as many more that had been cited by Vossius and other learned men, for this interpretation of his ; there were six other illustrious testimonies, which he himself had discovered, viz. Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Marcus Eremita, Dorotheus, Pacianus, and Ennodius. Then he sheweth, that the interpretation of some of the moderns, espoused by his adversary, is very far from the sense and mind of St. Augustin himself, whom they so much seem to depend on : as also that the Greek fathers and doctors, even after St. Augustin and Pelagius, did constantly adhere to the interpretation received and approved in the catholic church ; yea, that even all the Latin fathers after that time did still persist in the ancient and primitive exposition of St. Paul. And among the moderns, Mr. Bull produceth, both of the Romanists and of the foreign

Protestants that were eminent, a considerable number for his opinion, besides Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Taylor, and others of our own countrymen : afterwards he answers several objections of his adversary, particularly that his interpretation was not conformable to the doctrine of our church. And whereas it was urged, that there was a great agreement between the Harmonist's and the Romanist's doctrine of justification ; that objection is retorted in this Apology upon the accusers : and it is herein shewn, that the Doctor's opinion doth perfectly harmonize with the Popish one, established in the Council of Trent, which will not have true contrition of sins to be necessary for justification, and which is contended for in opposition to the decree of that Council by our apologist.

In the year 1676, there was published also an answer to Dr. Tully, by Mr. Richard Baxter, under the title of *A Treatise of Justifying Righteousness*; in two books; the first related to *Imputed Righteousness*, and with an Answer to Dr. Tully's Letter : the

second contained, *A friendly Debate with the learned and worthy Mr. Christopher Cartwright; containing, 1. His Animadversions on my Aphorisms, with my answer. 2. His Exceptions against that Answer. 3. My Reply to the Sum of the Controversies agitated in those Exceptions. All published instead of a fuller Answer to the Assaults of Dr. Tully's Justificatio Paulina.* Lond. 8vo. Of which treatise of Dr. Tully he sticketh not to give this character, that it is **defective in point of truth, justice, charity, ingenuity, and pertinency to the matter.* Nevertheless he several times acknowledgeth the Doctor to be a very worthy person, and consequently one that could not willingly be guilty of any such defect as he is here charged with. And indeed, it was the unhappiness both of Mr. Baxter and him, that they gave but too much reason for the imputation, under which they both equally lay, of being *angry writers.* This treatment of him by Mr. Baxter I the rather mention, that if some things in Mr. Bull's apology may appear a little too severe

* Part i. chap. 6.

upon this writer, the reader may easily think there was some occasion for it more than could have been wished. For the good man it seems had represented to himself those three, Bull, Bellarmin, and Baxter, as the three great adversaries of the faith, which was professed by him, and which he verily believed to be no other than that of the Church of England: and thence he falleth so very foul upon each of these, as if they were in a triple league together, and layeth about with all his might to overthrow what he supposeth to have been designed by them, against that which he esteemed as the very Christian palladium, and is by him so called.* The first and last of these pleaded their own cause, as we have seen; and not without success, especially the first; so only Bellarmin is left to shift for himself, who after all wrote notwithstanding on this subject with more moderation than most of his communion, or he himself who formed the charge against him, and who for certain was dragged into the controversy, only for the sake of the other two.

* Justif. Paulin.

There was also another answer, about the same time, to Mr. Bull's *Harmonia*, written in Latin by John Tombes, B. D. who hath been before mentioned ; of which I find very little notice to have been taken, though some *will have it that there were few better disputants in his age than he was ; and it is certain, that he had studied this controversy for some time before, both in his debates with the Antinomians, and those which he had with the †greatest opposer of them among the Presbyterians. For he had, near about twenty years before, written also in Latin ‡some *Animadversions upon Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms concerning Justification* ; and had, on the other hand, preached likewise in London, before an eminent congregation, several sermons against Dr. Crisp, and certain dangerous mistakes and misapplications of the Protestant doctrine of justification. Mr.

* Athen. Oxon.

† Ed. Calam. Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, chap. ix.

‡ *Animadversiones quædam in Aphorismos Richardi Baxteri de Justificatione*, 1658.

Baxter, it seemeth, printed these animadversions of his adversary, but without acquainting him first therewith; and replied to them. This dealing Mr. Tombes, being thereby prevented from explaining himself farther as he had intended, hath *complained of as hard; even as Mr. Baxter hath done of Dr. Tully: and hereupon he drew out all his artillery against Mr. Bull, whom he considered as an enemy of greater weight, and one from whom he might expect also other treatment; and therefore was resolved to make his last effort now upon one, that was esteemed the most perfect master in controversy, and who had brought together the whole strength of the cause in which he was engaged, with all the management and learning that could set it off to the best advantage. Besides, he took this occasion of farther clearing and justifying what he had written against the Aphorist, before Dr. Tully entered the lists against him: and of giving the world his second and more correct thoughts upon these nice points, so controverted by Protestants and Papists

* Epist. Ded. ad Animad. in Lib. G. Bulli, &c.

among themselves. It is also very probable, that he did not find that satisfaction in Dr. Tully's answer to Mr. Bull, this having been out then above a year, which he first looked for: and that he was still more dissatisfied with the answer of Mr. Truman, whose principles were not a little different from his. As for the animadversions of the younger Gataker, he could not have seen them, they not being printed till his own were in the press: and if he had seen and read them, it cannot be thought that he would have been diverted by any thing in them from undertaking a labour which lay so near his heart, and whence he promised himself so great a triumph. But he was now grown old, and not the man he formerly had been, whatsoever he might think of himself, or what assurance soever he might have of victory, as an advocate for the first reformers, as he would be thought to be. For it was evidently a weakness in him, at threescore and twelve years of age, when he was quite worn out, and just ready to drop into his grave, to begin a new combat unprovoked: and because, about

twenty or thirty years before, when he was in the full vigour both of body and mind, he had been successful enough in engaging with an adversary visibly inferior in strength, to undertake now, in his latter days, to grapple with an enemy every way his superior, an exact master in the arts of this sort of war, and one so extraordinarily accomplished besides, both by experience and study, for maintaining and defending this particular cause dependent betwixt them, as our Mr. Bull was, even beyond some who otherwise might be his rivals in learning ; he being then also in the very prime and fulness of strength, and every way qualified for such labours as these of the mind. The old man, zealous however for his cause, published at London his book against Mr. Bull, just at the very same time that Mr. Bull's justification of himself, and his work against Mr. Gataker and Dr. Tully, came forth. But this did him no harm at all ; for he had so fully already removed all the material objections of Mr. Tombes, in his answers to the strictures of those two learned Calvinian divines, and so

clearly demonstrated the weakness of their foundation, that there needed no farther apology to be made, for his book and himself, against such an hypothesis as could be not better defended, by the great learning of its supporters. Mr. Tombes's book was called, **Animadversions upon a book of George Bull's, which he hath intituled, The Apostolical Harmony.* According to the title-page, it should have been published in 1676, but Mr. Bull had seen a printed copy of it before the end of 1675, when he was concluding his general preface to his two apologetical treatises aforementioned; so that the edition of it must have been in Michaelmas term of this last year, and about half a year before the author's death.

In the year 1680, Dr. Lewis du Moulin, son of the famous Peter du Moulin, a violent Independent, came forth with a virulent pamphlet against the Church of England, called, *A short and true Account of the*

* Animadversiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit Harmonia Apostolica, &c.

several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome: or a Model of the Grounds, upon which the Papists, for these hundred Years, have built their Hopes and Expectations, that England would ere long return to Popery, Lond. 1680, 4to. In which pamphlet, he falleth hard upon the principles and opinions advanced by Mr. Bull, and other eminent divines of the Church of England, especially Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely: and greatly commendeth the industry and zeal of Dr. Tully, and Dr. Barlow at Oxford, as the two principal persons, who did keep that University from being poisoned with Pelagianism, Socinianism, and Popery. This was despised as it deserved by Mr. Bull. But soon after, there came out an answer to this book, with the title of, *A lively Picture of Lewis du Moulin, drawn by the incomparable hand of Mr. Daillé*. And Dr. du Moulin not long surviving after this, retracted upon his death-bed all the personal reflections, which in his book he had made upon any divine of the

Church of England, and ordered this his retraction to be made public after his death. Which was accordingly published, under this title, viz. *The last Words of Dr. Lewis du Moulin, being his Retracting of all the personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England, in several of his Books* : signed by himself, on the 5th and 17th of October, 1680, London. Nevertheless, without the knowledge of his wife, or other relations, (as is said,) there was published after his death a continuation of the aforesaid libel, intituled, *An additional Account of the Church of England's Advances towards Popery*. For it seems, that the Solifidian doctrine was by a great many looked on as the main pillar of the Protestant religion, which being once shaken, they thought there could be no possibility for it to bear up its head against Popery, or to justify the proceedings of Luther, and the other first reformers. This was plainly insinuated in several books about this time published; and none stood more exposed to this censure than the treatises of our author, which continuing

to prevail more and more, it is no wonder some angry books were written by the hot Calvinists, tending to create a suspicion of the clergy, and Universities of this kingdom, as if they were advancing apace to Rome, while they were for paying a greater deference to the first writers of Christianity, than to any of the sixteenth century whatsoever. Mr. Bull was looked upon to have mainly contributed to infect the University of Oxford, by his writings, with such doctrines : but he had so fully, yea so abundantly vindicated himself, by his learned and judicious Apology against Dr. Tully, that nothing could be more unfair than an accusation of such a nature as this, after he had been so well justified from it.

Thus I have endeavoured to present the reader with an impartial account of this whole controversy concerning justification, as it was managed betwixt Mr. Bull and his learned adversaries : wherein I have recited matters and arguments on both sides as an historian, and have not willingly concealed any thing, which might make for them or against him. This hath insensibly drawn me

out, by the great variety of incidents, much further than ever I could have imagined at first. But if hereby the truth shall appear, to indifferent and unprejudiced persons, to be set in its just light, it will be satisfaction enough, for the pains that have been taken, to make such a thorough search as was necessary, in order to this. The schemes of the several writers have been for this end here represented ; the grounds, occasion, and method of their writing, historically related ; an abstract given also of the most considerable of their pleas, whether from Scripture, reason, or antiquity. This was in a manner necessary, that a clear and full view might be had at once of so intricate a dispute, about these arduous points : and that the sagacity and solidity of Mr. Bull might more conspicuously be displayed, by allowing to his enemies all the advantage that could fairly be done ; and that the invincible strength of reasoning, wherewith the God of truth had endowed him, might break forth with more lustre, through the many and fierce oppositions which for a time were made against him.

For the names of Gataker, Truman, and Tully, have by their unsuccessful attacks, served but to render that of BULL the more celebrated. And as to this last animadverter, forasmuch as his principles were, as to this head, the same as those with Dr. Tully, his method with that of Gataker, and his arguments with those, of one or the other of these; and forasmuch, as Mr. Bull did not think his book considerable enough to deserve any answer, after he had so fully replied to the other two; there was no need to insist at all upon what was urged by him over again. I shall also pass over what several excellent writers, and eminent preachers in our church, have taken up, both in their writing and preaching on the covenant of the Gospel, and the methods of arriving at eternal happiness, from the rich treasury of our author, who seemeth indeed to have exhausted this subject.

THE END.

THE
CORRUPTIONS
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME,
IN RELATION TO
ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT,
THE RULE OF FAITH,
AND FORM OF DIVINE WORSHIP.

THE
CORRUPTIONS
OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME,
IN RELATION TO
ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT,
THE RULE OF FAITH,
AND FORM OF DIVINE WORSHIP;
IN ANSWER TO THE
BISHOP OF MEAUX'S QUERIES.

BY
THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. BULL,
LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

A LETTER

From the BISHOP of MEAUX to ROBERT NELSON, Esq; upon his having read DR. BULL's Book, (entituled, Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Trium Primorum Seculorum de necessitate credendi quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus sit verus Deus,) presented to him by that worthy gentleman :

TO MR. NELSON AT BLACKHEATH.

St. Germaine en Laye, 24 July, 1700.

I RECEIVED, Sir, about a fortnight ago, the honour of your Letter from Blackheath, near London, dated the 18th of July of the last year, when at the same time you sent me Dr. Bull's book, entituled, *Judicium Ecclesiæ*

Catholicæ, &c. I must first, Sir, acquaint you, that the sight of your hand and name gave me a great deal of joy, and that I was extremely pleased with this testimony of your remembrance. As to Dr. Bull's performance, I was willing to read it all over, before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my sense of it. 'Tis admirable, and the matter he treats could not be explained with greater learning and greater judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the Clergy of France, assembled in this place, for the service he does the Catholic Church in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a man, who speaks so advantageously of the Church, of salvation, which is obtained only in unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which infers the same assistance for all others assembled in the same

Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or either, Sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me, who am a zealous defender of the doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term *Catholic Church*? Is it the Church of *Rome*, and those that adhere to her? Is it the Church of *England*? Is it a confused heap of societies separated the one from the other? And how can they be that kingdom of Christ not divided against itself, and which never shall perish? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this subject, that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an author.

I very much rejoice at the good news you send me of your Lady's welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your family. You have been rightly informed in the account you have received of the admirable qualifications of the Archbishop of Paris, now Cardinal de Noailles; the see of St. Denis has not for a long time been so worthily filled. If Mr. Collier, whom you mention, has written any thing in Latin concerning the *modern mystical*

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divinity, you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all, remember, that I am with a great deal of sincerity, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

† J. BENIGNE, Bishop of Meaux.

DR. BULL'S ANSWER.

Sect. I. THE approbation of my writings by so learned and illustrious a prelate as Monsieur *de Meaux*, especially when joined with the congratulations of the learned Clergy of France in general, is so high a honour done me, that if I did not set a great value on it, I were altogether unworthy of it.

But as to the wonder of Monsieur *de Meaux* I cannot but very much wonder at it, especially at the reasons on which it is grounded. He wonders *how I, that speak so advantageously of the Church, &c. can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Her!* What *her* doth the Bishop mean? Doubtless the present Church of Rome, in the commu-

nion whereof he himself lives, and to which his design seems to be to invite me. But where do I speak so advantageously of the present *Church of Rome*? No where, I am sure. My thoughts concerning her I have plainly (perhaps too plainly, and bluntly, in the opinion of Monsieur de Meaux) delivered in the book which he so commends, (*Jud. Eccl. Cathol. cap. 5, §. 3;*) where, having spoken of that singular purity of the Faith which was in the Church of Rome in the first ages, and taken notice of and extolled by some of the primitive Fathers, I thus conclude, “Oh that so great a happiness, such purity
“of faith, had always continued in that
“Church! But, alas! we may now cry out in
“the holy Prophet’s words, *How is the faith-
“ful city become an harlot?*” (Isaiah i. 21.)

But Monsieur *de Meaux* seems to think the Roman and the Catholic Church to be convertible terms, which is strange in so learned a man, especially at this time of the day. Cannot the Catholic Church be mentioned, but presently the Roman Church must be understood? The book which the Bishop

refers to, bears this title, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium primorum seculorum*, &c. Of the *Catholic Church* of the three first centuries, I do indeed speak with great deference. To her judgment, next to the holy Scriptures, I appeal against the oppugners of our Lord's Divinity at this day, whether *Arians* or *Socinians*. The Rule of Faith, the Symbols of Creeds, the profession whereof was in those ages the condition of communion with the Catholic Church, (mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, and others,) I heartily and firmly believe. This *primitive Catholic Church*, as to her government and discipline, her doctrines of Faith, and her worship of God, I think ought to be the standard by which we are to judge of the orthodoxy and purity of all other succeeding churches, according to that excellent rule of *Tertullian de Prescript. adv. Hæres. cap. xx. xxi.**

“ Every descent must necessarily deduce itself
 “ from its first original. If these things are
 “ true, it is plain that every doctrine which
 “ these Apostolical, these original and Mother

* Vide Apos. 34, and Conc. Ephes. Can. 8.

“ Churches, held as analogous to the Rule of
 “ Faith, is to be owned as true, and as containing,
 “ without doubt, what the Churches received
 “ from the Apostles, the Apostles from
 “ Christ, Christ from God ; but that all
 “ other doctrine is to be looked upon as false,
 “ and no ways favouring of those truths which
 “ have been delivered by the Churches, and
 “ the Apostles, and Christ, and God. And
 “ to the same purpose he discourseth, *cap. 31,*
 “ *ejusdem Libri.*”

According to this rule, the *Church of England* will be found the best and purest church this day in the Christian world. Upon which account, I bless God that I was born, baptized, and bred up in her Communion ; wherein I firmly resolve, by his grace, to persist as long as I live. How far the present *Church of Rome* hath departed from this primitive pattern, will appear hereafter.

Monsieur *de Meaux* adds as a farther reason of his wonder, *that I speak of salvation as only to be found in unity with her.* Her ! Doth the Bishop here again mean the present Church of Rome ? If he doth, I must plainly

tell him, that I am so far from ever thinking that salvation is only to be found in unity with her, that, on the contrary, I verily believe they are in great danger of their salvation who live in her communion; that is, who own her erroneous doctrines, and join in her corrupt worship; of which I shall give a large account before I have done. I do indeed, in the book which the Bishop hath an eye unto, shew that there was a Canon or Rule of Faith, received in the primitive Church, which whoever in any point thereof denied or opposed, was judged an heretic, and if he persisted in his heresy, cast out of the communion of the Catholic Church, and so out of the ordinary way of Salvation. But what is this to the present *Church of Rome* and her communion?

The Bishop's last reason is, *that I own the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which infers the same assistance for all others assembled in the same Church.* To which I answer, I mention this indeed as the opinion of *Socrates*; but at the same time, I give another account of the credit that is to be given to the determination

of the Nicene Council in the article of our Saviour's Divinity, in the *Proemium* of my *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, § 3, where my words are these: " But the same *Socrates* (chap. ix. " of the same book) reproves *Sabinus* for not " considering with himself, that they who " came to this Council, how illiterate soever " they were, yet being enlightened by God, " and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, could in " no wise depart from the Truth. For he " seems to have thought the enlightening " Grace of the Holy Ghost always to accom- " pany a General Council of Bishops, and to " preserve them from error, especially in any " of the necessary Articles of Faith; which " supposition, if any one shall refuse to admit " of, *Socrates's* argumentation may be thus " directed and urged against him: The " *Nicene* Fathers, let any imagine them as " unskilful and illiterate as he will, yet in the " main were doubtless pious men; but it is " incredible, that so many holy and approved " men, assembled from all parts of the Christ- " ian world, (who, how defective soever in " any other sort of knowledge, could by no

“ means be ignorant of the first and funda-
 “ mental Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, a
 “ doctrine wherein the very *Catechumens*
 “ were not uninstructed, or of what them-
 “ selves had received from their Predecessors
 “ concerning it,) should wickedly conspire
 “ amongst themselves to new model the Faith
 “ received in the Church, concerning this
 “ principal Article of Christianity.” And
 indeed, all these things considered and laid
 together, it was morally impossible that the
 Nicene Fathers should have erred in the
 determination of the Article before them; and
 that they did not actually err, I have suffi-
 ciently proved, in the Bishop’s own judgment,
 in the following treatise.

But suppose I were fully of Socrates’s
 opinion, concerning the infallible assistance of
 the Holy Ghost attending every truly General
 Council in matters of Faith, I should be never
 the nearer to the communion of the Church
 of Rome, as it is now subjected to the decrees
 of the *Trent Council*; for, as I afterwards
 add, in the same Preface, § 8, “ The
 “ assembly at *Trent* is to be called by any

“other name, rather than that of a General Council.”

I proceed to the Bishop's questions. He asks me *what I mean by the Catholic Church?* I answer : what I mean by the *Catholic Church*, in the book which he all along refers to, I have already shewn, and the very title of the book sufficiently declares. If he asks me, what I mean by the Catholic Church, speaking of it as now it is? I answer : by the Catholic Church, I mean the Church Universal, being a collection of all the Churches throughout the world, who retain the *Faith* (ἀπαξ) *once delivered to the Saints* (Jude 3); that is, who hold and profess in the Substance of it that faith and religion which was delivered by the Apostles of Christ to the first original churches, according to Tertullian's rule, before mentioned; which faith and religion is contained in the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, and the main fundamentals of it comprised in the Canon or Rule of Faith universally received throughout the Primitive Churches; and the profession thereof acknowledged to be a sufficient *tessera* or *badge* of a

Catholic Christian. All the Churches at this day, which hold and profess this faith and religion, however distant in place, or distinguished by different rites and ceremonies, yea, or divided in some extra-fundamental points of doctrine, yet agreeing in the essentials of the Christian religion, make up together one Christian Catholic Church under the Lord Christ, the supreme Head thereof. The Catholic Church, under this notion, is not a *confused heap of societies separated one from another*. But it seems no other union of the Church will satisfy the Bishop, but an union of all the churches of Christ throughout the world, under one visible Head, having a jurisdiction over them all, and that Head the *Bishop of Rome* for the time being. But such an union as this was never dreamed of amongst Christians for at least the first six hundred years, as shall be shewn in its due place.

The Catholic Church, I believe, shall never totally fail; that is, Christianity shall never utterly perish from the face of the earth, but there shall be some to maintain and uphold

it to the end of the world. Although some of the ancient Doctors of the Church have given us a very tragical description of the state of the Universal Church of Christ, which shall be under the reign of the great *Anti-christ*. But I know of no promise of Indefectibility from the faith made to any particular Church, no, not to the *Church of Rome* itself; and if we may judge by the Holy Scriptures, and by the doctrine and practice of the primitive Catholic Church, the present Church of Rome hath already lamentably failed, and fallen into many dangerous and gross errors, as will by and by appear. Now that Church which hath already so far failed, why may she not utterly fail? If she be found but in one error, the infallible direction of her judgment, upon which her indefectibility from the Faith must depend, is gone and destroyed. I add, that divers eminent *Doctors, even of the Roman communion, have discovered out of the *Apocalyps*, that *Rome* itself shall at length become the seat of Antichrist. If so, where will the *Church of Rome* then be?

* Ribera and Viega in Apoc. 17.

But I wonder why Monsieur *de Meaux* should ask me, whether by the Catholic Church I mean the *Church of Rome*, or the *Church of England*? He knows full well I mean neither the one nor the other : for to say either of the *Church of Rome*, or of the *Church of England*, or of the *Greek Church* or of any other particular *Church* of what denomination soever, that it is the Catholic or Universal Church, would be as absurd as to affirm that a part is the whole. And to be sure I never meant the Church of *Rome* to be the Catholic Church, exclusive to all other Churches. I am so far from any such meaning, that my constant judgment of the Church of *Rome* hath been, that if she may be allowed still to remain a *part* or *member* of the Catholic Church, (which hath been questioned by some learned men, upon grounds and reasons not very easy to be answered,) yet she is certainly a very unsound and corrupted one, and sadly degenerated from her primitive purity. This I must insist upon, and have obliged myself to prove ; and I prove it thus :

Sect. II. The Church of Rome hath quite altered the *primitive Ecclesiastical Government*, changed the *primitive Canon or Rule of Faith*, and miserably corrupted the *primitive Liturgy or Form of Divine Worship*.

1st. She hath quite altered the *primitive Ecclesiastical Government*, by erecting a monarch in the Church, and setting up her Bishop as the universal pastor and governor of the whole Catholic Church, and making all other Bishops to be but his vicars or substitutes, as to their jurisdiction.

For that the Bishop of Rome had no such universal jurisdiction in the primitive times, is most evident from the sixth Canon of the first *Nicene Council*, occasioned, as it appears, by the schism of Meletius, an ambitious Bishop in Egypt, who took upon him to ordain Bishops there, without the consent of the metropolitan Bishop of Alexandria. The words of the canon are these: *Let the ancient customs prevail that are in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria have the power over them all, forsamuch as the Bishop of Rome also hath the like custom.*

In like manner, in Antioch, and all other provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the Churches. From this Canon it is plain, that the three Metropolitan Bishops, or *Primates*, (they were not as yet, I think, called *Patriarchs*,) of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, and *Antioch*, had their distinct jurisdictions, each independent on the other ; and that all other chief Bishops or *Primates* of Provinces had the same privileges which are here confirmed to them. It is true, this Canon doth not particularly describe or determine what the bounds are of the *Roman* Bishop's power, as neither doth it the limits of the Bishop of *Antioch's* jurisdiction, but only those of the Bishop of *Alexandria's* province. The reason hereof is manifest : the case of the Bishop of *Alexandria* only was at this time laid before the Synod, whose jurisdiction in Egypt had been lately invaded by the schismatical ordinations of Meletius, as I before observed ; but that the *Roman* Bishop's power, as well as that of the other metropolitans, had its bounds, is most manifest from the example that is drawn from thence, for the limits of

other Churches. For what an absurd thing is it, that the Church of *Rome* should be made the pattern for assigning the limits to other Metropolitan Churches, if that Church also had not her known limits at the same time when this Canon was made! Intolerable is the exposition which Bellarmin, and other Romanists, give of these words of the Canon: *forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome also hath the like custom; i. e.* (they say,) “It was “the custom of the Bishop of *Rome* to “permit, or leave to the Bishop of *Alexandria* “the regimen of *Egypt, Lybia, and Penta-* “*polis.*” Certainly, τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν implies a like custom in the Church of *Alexandria* and in the Church of *Rome*, and the sense of the Canon is most evident, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should, according to the ancient custom of the Church, (not by the permission of the *Roman* Bishop,) enjoy the full power in his province, as by the like ancient custom the Bishop of *Rome* had the jurisdiction of his. But they that would see this Canon fully explained, and cleared from all the trifling cavils and exceptions of the Romanists,

may consult the large and copious Annotations of the learned Dr. Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, upon it, where they will receive ample satisfaction.

Thus was the Government of the Catholic Church in the primitive times distributed among the several chief Bishops or Primates of the provinces, neither of them being accountable to the other, but all of them to an *Œcumenical* Council, which was then held to be the only supreme visible Judge of controversies arising in the Church, and to have the power of finally deciding them. Hence the case of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, before mentioned, was not brought before the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other Metropolitan, but referred to the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council to be finally determined by them.

The universal Pastorship or Government of the Catholic Church was never claimed by any Bishop till towards the end of the sixth century; and then it was thought to be challenged by *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, assuming to himself the title of *Œcumenical* or *Universal* Bishop; whom Gregory

the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, vehemently opposed, pronouncing him the forerunner of Antichrist who durst usurp so arrogant a title. And 'tis worthy observing how passionately the same Gregory expresseth his detestation of the pride and arrogance of the *Patriarch of Constantinople*, in his Letter to Mauritius the Emperor: **“ I am forced
 “ to cry out, O the times ! O the manners !
 “ All things in the parts of Europe are deli-
 “ vered up to the power of barbarous people.
 “ Cities are destroyed, castles demolished,
 “ provinces depopulated, &c. and yet the
 “ Bishops, who ought to have lain prostrate
 “ on the ground covered with ashes and
 “ weeping, even they covet to themselves
 “ names of vanity, and glory in new and pro-
 “ phane titles.”* And yet this name of vanity, this new and profane title of Universal Bishop, was afterwards accepted by *Boniface III.* Bishop of *Rome*, when it was offered him by that bloody miscreant Phocas the Emperor ; and the same title hath been owned by the succeeding Bishops of the Roman Church,

* Greg. lib. 4, Epist. 32.

and that as due to them by divine right. Indeed, it may be questioned whether *John of Constantinople*, by assuming the title of *Œcumenical* Bishop, meant that he had an universal jurisdiction over all other Bishops and Churches: but this is certain, that Gregory opposed the title under this notion; this appearing abundantly from his *Epistle to John the Patriarch; and 'tis as certain, that under the same notion the Bishops of *Rome* afterwards assumed that title, and do claim it to this day. Nay, the *Universal Pastorship* and jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop over all Bishops and Churches, is now no longer a meer Court opinion, maintained only by the Pope's parasites and flatterers, but is become a part of the Faith of the Church of Rome, it being one of the Articles of the *Trent Creed*, to which all Ecclesiastics are sworn themselves, and which, by the same oath, they are obliged to teach the Laity under their care and charge, as hereafter will appear. So that now there is no room for that distinction, wherewith some have soothed and

* Lib. 4, Epist. 38.

pleased themselves, between the Church and Court of *Rome* ; for the Court is entered into the Church of *Rome*, or rather the Court and Church of *Rome* are all one.

Sect. III. 2d. The Church of *Rome* hath changed the *Primitive Canon*, or *Rule of Faith*, by adding new Articles to it, as necessary to be believed in order to salvation : look to the confession of Faith, according to the Council of Trent. It begins, indeed, with the primitive Rule of Faith as is explained by the Council of Nice and Constantinople ; and happy had it been for the Church of Christ if it had ended there. But there are added afterwards many new Articles, and with reference to them, as well as to the Articles of the old Creed : it concludes thus, “ This
 “ true Catholic Faith, without which none
 “ can be saved, which I now willingly profess
 “ and unfeignedly hold, the same I promise,
 “ vow, and swear, by the help of God, most
 “ constantly to keep and confess, entire and
 “ inviolate, even to my last breath ; and to
 “ endeavour moreover, to the utmost of my

“power, that it may be kept, taught, and
“professed by all my subjects, or by those
“that are any way under my care. So help
“me God, and these his holy Gospels.”

Now if you examine those Articles that follow after the *Constantinopolitan* Creed, you will find they are not merely *explicatory* of any Article or Articles of the old Canon of Faith (such as that of ὁμοῦς, &c., or same substance, in the *Nicene* Confession, which was virtually contained in the ancient Canon, and by good consequence deducible from it, and was apparently also the sense of the Catholic Church before the *Nicene* Council); but they are plain *additions* to the Rule of Faith. Now if these Articles were true, yet they ought not presently to be made a part of our Creed; for every truth is not fundamental, nor every error damnable. We deny not but that General or Provincial Councils may make constitutions concerning extra-fundamental verities, and oblige all such as are under their jurisdiction to receive them, at least passively, so as not openly and contumaciously to oppose them; but to make any of these a part of the

Creed, and to oblige all Christians under pain of damnation to receive and believe them, this is really to add to the Creed, and to change the ancient *Canon* or *Rule of Faith*. But alas! these superadded Articles of the *Trent Creed* are so far from being certain truths, that they are most of them manifest untruths, yea, gross and dangerous errors. To make this appear, I shall not refuse the pains of examining some of the chief of them.

The first Article I shall take notice of is this: “ I profess, that in the Mass is offered
“ to God a true, proper, and propitiatory
“ sacrifice for the living and the dead; and
“ that in the most holy Sacrament of the
“ *Eucharist*, there is truly, and really, and
“ substantially the Body and Blood, together
“ with the Soul and Divinity, of our Lord
“ Jesus Christ; and that there is wrought a
“ Conversion of the whole substance of the
“ Bread into the Body, and of the whole
“ substance of the Wine into the Blood,
“ which Conversion the Catholic Church calls
“ *Transubstantiation*.” Were this proposition, *that in the Mass there is offered to God*

a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, having that other of the substantial presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the *Eucharist* immediately annexed to it, the meaning of it must necessarily be this: that in the *Eucharist* the very Body and Blood of Christ are again offered up to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men; which is an impious proposition, derogatory to the one full satisfaction of Christ, made by his death on the Cross, and contrary to express Scripture, *Heb.* vii. 27, and ix. 12, 15, 26, 28, and x. 12, 14. It is true, the *Eucharist* is frequently called by the ancient Fathers *προσφορά*, *θυσία*, an *Oblation*, or *Sacrifice*. But it is to be remembered, that they say also it is *θυσία λογική και ἀναίμα* ⑥, a *reasonable Sacrifice*, a *Sacrifice without Blood*; which, how can it be said to be, if therein the very Blood of Christ were offered up to God?

They held the *Eucharist* to be a *commemorative* sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant language of the ancient Liturgies, *We offer by way of commemoration*; accord.

ing to our Saviour's words, when he ordained this holy rite, *Do this in commemoration of me.** In the *Eucharist* then, Christ is offered not *hypostatically*, as the Trent Fathers have determined, (for so he was but once offered,) but *commemoratively* only: and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of him. For every sacrifice is directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the holy *Eucharist*, therefore, we set before God the Bread and Wine as *figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ, shed for us, and of his precious Body*, (they are the very words of the *Clementine Liturgy*,) and plead to God the merit of his Son's sacrifice once offered on the Cross for us sinners; and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching him for the sake thereof, to bestow his heavenly blessings on us.

To conclude this matter: the ancients held the *Oblation* of the *Eucharist* to be answerable in some respects to the legal sacri-

* Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 269, 297.

fices ; that is, they believed that our blessed Saviour ordained the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* as a rite of prayer and praise to God, instead of the manifold and bloody sacrifices of the law. That the *legal Sacrifices* were rites to invoke God by, is evident from many texts of Scripture, see especially 1 Sam. vii. 9, and xiii. 12 ; Ezra vi. 10 ; Prov. xv. 8 ; and that they were also rites for praising and blessing God for his mercies, appears from 2 Chron. xxix. 27. Instead, therefore, of slaying of beasts, and burning of incense, whereby they praised God, and called upon his name under the Old Testament, the Fathers, I say, believed our Saviour appointed this Sacrament of Bread and Wine as a rite whereby to make thanks and make supplication to his Father in his name. This you may see fully cleared and proved by the learned Mr. Meade, in his treatise intituled, *The Christian Sacrifice*. The *Eucharistical Sacrifice* thus explained is indeed λογική Θυσία, a *reasonable Sacrifice*, widely different from that monstrous Sacrifice of the Mass, taught in the Church of Rome.

The other branch of the Article is concerning *Transubstantiation*, wherein the Ecclesiastic professeth, upon his solemn oath, his belief that, in the Eucharist, *there is made a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole Substance of the Wine into the Blood of Christ*: a proposition that bids defiance to all the reason and sense of mankind. Nor (God be praised) hath it any ground or foundation in Divine Revelation; nay, the texts of Scripture, on which the Church of Rome builds this Article, duly considered, utterly subvert and overthrow it: she grounds it upon the words of the institution of the holy Sacrament by our Saviour, the same night wherein he was betrayed, when he took Bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *This is my Body*, (τὸ διδόμενον, saith St. Luke, τὸ κλώμενον, saith St. Paul,) *which is given and broken for you*. After the same manner he took the Cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament*, τὸ ἐκχύμενον, *which is shed for many for*

the remission of sins. Now whatsoever our Saviour said, was undoubtedly true; but these words could not be true in a proper sense: for our Saviour's Body was not then given, or broken, but whole and inviolate; nor was there one drop of his blood yet shed. The words, therefore, must necessarily be understood in a figurative sense; and then, what becomes of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*? The meaning of our Saviour is plainly this: what I now do, is a representation of my Death and Passion near approaching; and what I now do, do ye hereafter; do this in remembrance of me; let this be a standing, perpetual ordinance in my Church to the end of the world; let my death be thus annunciated and shewn forth till I come to judgment. See 1 Cor. xi. 26.

As little foundation hath this doctrine of *Transubstantiation* in the ancient Church, as appears sufficiently from what hath been already said concerning the notion then universally received of the *Eucharistical Sacrifice*. It was then believed to be an ἀνάμνησις, or Commemoration, by the Symbols of Bread

and Wine, of the Body and Blood of Christ, once offered up to God on the Cross for our redemption; it could not, therefore, be then thought an offering up again to God of the very Body and Blood of Christ, substantially present under the appearance of Bread and Wine, for these two notions are inconsistent, and cannot stand together. The ancient Doctors, yea, and Liturgies of the Church, affirm the Eucharist to be *incrumentum sacrificium*, a sacrifice without Blood; which it cannot be said to be, if the very Blood of Christ were therein present and offered up to God. In the *Clementine* Liturgy, the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist are said to be *Antitypa*, correspondent types, figures, and images of the precious Body and Blood of Christ. And divers others of the Fathers speak in the same plain language: *Vid. Greg. Naz. Apol. orat. 1. tom. 1; Cyril. Hierosol. 5; Cat. Myst. Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach, that the Bread and Wine in the *Eucharist*, by or upon the con-

secration of them, do become and are made the *Body and Blood of Christ*; but we know also, that though they do not all explain themselves in the same way, yet they do all declare their sense to be very dissonant from the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Some of the most ancient Doctors of the Church, as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, seem to have had this notion, that by or upon the sacerdotal benediction, the Spirit of Christ, or a divine virtue from Christ, descends upon the elements, and accompanies them to all worthy communicants, and that therefore they are said to be, and are the Body and Blood of Christ; the same divinity, which is hypostatically united to the Body of Christ in Heaven, being virtually united to the elements of Bread and Wine on Earth; which also seems to be the meaning of all the ancient Liturgies, in which it is prayed, *that God would send down his Spirit upon the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist*. And this, doubtless, is the meaning of Origen, in his eighth book against Celsus, p. 399. where, speaking of the holy Eucharist, he says, “that therein we eat Bread, by Prayer (*i. e.*

“by the Prayer of Consecration for the
 “descent of the divine Spirit upon it) made
 “a certain holy Body, which also sanctifies
 “those who with a sound or sincere purpose
 “of heart use it.” But that neither Justin
 Martyr, nor Irenæus, nor Origen, ever
 dreamed of Transubstantiation of the Ele-
 ments is most evident ; for Justin Martyr and
 Irenæus do both of them plainly affirm, that
 by eating and drinking the Bread and Wine
 in the Eucharist, *our Bodies are nourished,*
 and that the *Bread and Wine are digested*
and turned into the Substance of our Bodies ;
 which, to affirm of the glorified Body of Christ,
 were impious and blasphemous, and to affirm
 the same of the mere accidents of the Bread
 and Wine, would be very absurd and ridi-
 culous. And Origen expressly saith, “ That
 “ what we eat in the Eucharist is Bread, but
 “ Bread sanctified and made holy by Prayer,
 “ and which, by the divine virtue that accom-
 “ panies it, sanctifieth all those who worthily
 “ receive it.” He that would see more of
 this notion of the ancient Fathers, and par-
 ticularly those places of Justin Martyr and

Irenæus fully cleared and vindicated from the forced and absurd glosses of the Romanists, may consult my learned friend Mr. Grabe, in his notes upon Justin Martyr's first Apology, of his own edition, p. 128, 129; but especially in his large and elaborate Annotation upon Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34.

I shall dismiss this Article with this one only observation, that after the prodigious doctrine of Transubstantiation was confirmed by the first *Lateran* Council, there were many in the Communion of the Church of *Rome* who could not digest it, did not in truth believe it, and wished from their hearts that their Church had never defined it. For this we have the ample testimonies of very eminent writers of that Church. "The conversion of
 "the Bread and Wine into Christ's Body
 "and Blood, (saith Cajetan, *par. 3. qu. 75.*
 "Article 1.) all of us do teach in words, but
 "in deed many deny it, thinking nothing
 "less, these are diversely divided one from
 "another. For some, by the Conversion that
 "is in the Sacrament, understand nothing
 "but identity of place; that is, that the

“ Bread is therefore said to be made the Body
 “ of Christ, because where the Bread is, the
 “ Body of Christ becomes present also.
 “ Others understand by the word *Conversion*
 “ nothing else but the order of Succession;
 “ that is, that the Body succeedeth, and is
 “ under the veils of accidents, under which
 “ the Bread, which they suppose to be anni-
 “ hilated, was before.” Occam, *Centilogii*
conclus. cap. 19, saith, “ There are three
 “ opinions about Transubstantiation ; of which
 “ the first supposeth a conversion of the
 “ sacramental Elements ; the second, the
 “ Annihilation ; the third affirmeth the Bread
 “ to be in such manner transubstantiated into
 “ the Body of Christ that it is no way
 “ changed in substance, or substantially con-
 “ verted into Christ’s Body, or doth cease to
 “ to be, but only that the Body of Christ, in
 “ every part of it, becomes present in every
 “ part of the Bread.” Waldensis (*tom. 2.*
de Sacram Eucharistiæ, cap. 19.) reports
 out of Christopolitanus Zacharias’s book,
 entituled *Quatuor unum*, “ That there were
 “ some, perhaps many, but hardly to be dis-

“cerned and noted, who thought still as
“Berengarius did.” The same Waldensis
(in the same book, cap. 64) saith, “That
“some supposed the Conversion that is in
“the Sacrament, to be, in that the Bread and
“Wine are assumed into the unity of Christ’s
“person ; some thought it to be by way of
“impanation, and some by way of figurative
“and tropical appellation. The first and
“second of these opinions found the better
“entertainment in some men’s minds, because
“they grant the essential presence of Christ’s
“Body, and yet deny not the presence of the
“Bread still remaining to sustain the appear-
“ing accidents. These opinions he reports
“to have been very acceptable to many, not
“without sighs, wishing the Church had de-
“creed that men should follow one of them.”

It cannot be doubted, but that there are at this day many in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, who are in the same perplexity about this article of Transubstantiation, and have the same wishes, that their Church had never made it an Article of their Faith ; for the absurdities of Transubstantiation and

the reason of mankind are still the same. Now what a lamentable condition they are in, who are forced to profess (yea, and all Ecclesiastics now, by the *Trent* Confession, in the most solemn manner do swear) that they believe what they cannot for their hearts believe; whose consciences, between the determinations of their Church and the dictates of their own reason, yea and sense too, are continually ground as between two millstones! I have been long upon this Article, but shall be more brief on the next.

The next Article is this: "I confess also, "that under one kind only, whole and entire "Christ, and *the whole* Sacrament is received." Now this Article of the *sufficiency of the Sacrament of the Eucharist taken only in one kind*, as it refers to, and is designed to justify, the practice of the *Roman* Church, in the constant and public administration of the Sacrament to all the Laity only in one kind, viz. the Bread, denying them the Cup, is manifestly against our Saviour's first institution of the Sacrament, against Apostolical practice, and the usage of the

Universal Church of Christ for a thousand years, as is confessed by divers learned men of the Roman Communion. And yet according to the *Trent* Creed, all men are damned that do not assent to the insolent, and, as I may justly term it, *Antichristian* decree of the *Roman* Church in this point. And who can, without astonishment, reflect on the stiffness, and obstinacy, and uncharitableness of the *Trent* Fathers in this matter! Before they met, when it was noised that a Council should be called to redress the manifold abuses and corruptions that were in the Church, it was the longing expectation and earnest desire of many good men, that, amongst other things, the Communion in both kinds might be restored to the Laity. There were a multitude of pious souls, as it were, upon their knees before them thirsting after the cup of blessing, and earnestly begging for an entire Sacrament. But those *Duri Patres*, those hard-hearted Fathers, had no compassion on them, turned a deaf ear to their loud cries and supplications, only bidding them believe for the future (what they could not believe) that half the

Sacrament was every whit as good as the whole.

Immediately follows this Article, “ I firmly
“ hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the
“ Souls detained there are relieved by the
“ Prayers of the Faithful.” Now this Article
of a *Purgatory after this Life*, as it is understood and taught by the *Roman Church*, (that is, to be a place and state of misery and torment, whereinto many faithful souls go presently after death, and there remain till they are thoroughly purged from their dross, or delivered thence by Masses, Indulgencies, &c.) is contrary to Scripture, and the sense of the *Catholic Church* for at least the first *four centuries*, as I have at large proved in a discourse concerning the *State of the Souls of Men in the interval between Death and the Resurrection*; which I am ready to communicate to Monsieur *de Meaux* if he shall desire it. Indeed the doctrine of *Purgatory* is not only an error, but a dangerous one too, which (I am verily persuaded) hath betrayed a multitude of souls into eternal perdition, who might have escaped Hell, if they had

not depended upon an after-game in Purgatory. But this Article being very gainful to the *Roman* Clergy must above others be held fast, and constantly maintained and defended.

“ I firmly hold it.”

Prayers for the Dead, as founded on the hypothesis of Purgatory (and we no otherwise reject them) fall together with it. The Prayers for the Dead used in the ancient Church (those, I mean, that were more properly Prayers, *i. e.* either deprecations, or petitions) were of two sorts, either the common and general commemoration of all the faithful at the oblation of the holy Eucharist, or the particular Prayers used at the Funerals of any of the faithful lately deceased.

The former respected their final Absolution, and the Consummation of their Bliss at the Resurrection; like as that our Church useth both in the office for the Communion, and in that for the Burial of the Dead; which indeed seems to be no more than what we daily pray for in that petition of the Lord's Prayer (if we rightly understand it), *Thy Kingdom*

come. The latter were also charitable omens and good wishes of the faithful living, as it were accompanying the soul of the deceased to the joys of Paradise, of which they believed it already possessed, as the ancient Author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in his last chapter of that book plainly informs us. In a word, let any understanding and unprejudiced person attentively observe the Prayers for the Dead in the most undoubtedly ancient Liturgies, especially those in the *Clementine Liturgy*, and those mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and he will be so far from believing the *Roman Purgatory* upon account of those Prayers, that he must needs see they make directly against it; for they all run (as even that Prayer for the Dead, which is unadvisedly left by the *Romanists*, in their own *Canon* of the Mass, as a testimony against themselves) in this form, *For all that are in peace or at rest in the Lord.* Now how can they be said to be in peace or at rest in the Lord, who are supposed to be in a state of misery and torment?

The next Article is this : “ As also that
“ the Saints reigning together with Christ,
“ are to be venerated and invoked, and that
“ they offer up Prayers to God for us ; and
“ that their Relics are to be venerated.”
Now for the *Worship and Invocation of
Saints deceased* there is no ground or foundation in the Holy Scriptures, no precept, no example. Nay, it is by evident consequence forbidden in the prohibition of the Worship and Invocation of Angels, Col. ii. 18, with which text compare the 35th Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, and the judgment of the learned Father Theodoret concerning it, who flourished shortly after that Council. He, in his Notes upon that text of St. Paul, hath these express words, *The Synod met at Laodicea, in Phrygia, made a Law forbidding Men to pray even to the Angels.* See also Zonaras upon the same Canon. He, as well as Theodoret long before him, rightly judged, that both in the text of St. Paul, and in the *Laodicean* Canon, all Prayers to Angels are forbidden. Now if we must not pray to Angels, then much less may we pray to Saints.

The Angels are ministering Spirits, sent forth to *minister to them who shall be Heirs of Salvation*: they watch over us, and are frequently present with us; nay, they are *Internuncii*, messengers between God and us, conveying God's blessings to us, and our prayers to God (Acts x. 4. Apoc. viii. 3.); none of which things are any where affirmed of the deceased Saints; and yet we must not pray even to the Angels.

Hear also Origen, who lived long before the *Laodicean* Council, delivering the sense of the Church of his time in this matter, *lib. 5. contra Cels. p. 233. edit. Cantab.* where he excellently discourseth against the religious Worship and Invocation of Angels; in opposition to which, he first lays down this as a received doctriue among all Catholic Christians, "That all Prayers, all Supplications, Deprecations, and Thanksgivings, are
"to be offered to God the Lord of all, by
"the chief High Priest, who is above all
"Angels, the living Word, and God." And presently after, he shews the folly and unreasonableness of praying to Angels upon several

accounts. As first, because the particular knowledge of Angels, and what offices they severally perform, is a secret which we cannot reach to; which is the very reason which St. Paul suggests in the text before mentioned, that whosoever worships and invokes the Angels, doth *intrude into those things which he hath not seen*. From whence we may easily gather, that Origen, in this discourse of his, had an eye to that text of St. Paul, and understood it as we do, to be a prohibition of all Prayer to Angels. Secondly, he argues that if we should suppose that we could attain such particular knowledge of the Angels, yet it would not be lawful for us to pray to them, or any other, save to God the Lord of all, who alone is all sufficient, abundantly able to supply all our wants and necessities, through our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, his Word, Wisdom, and Truth. Lastly, he reasons to this effect, that the best way to gain the good will of those blessed Spirits is not to pray to them, but to imitate them by paying our devotions to God alone, as they do. Hear the same Origen, *lib. 8. p. 402.* where

to Celsus, talking of those Spirits that preside over the affairs of men here below, who were thought to be appeased only by prayers to them in a barbarous language, he answers with derision, and tells him, he forgot with whom he had to do, and that he was speaking to Christians *who pray to God alone through Jesus*. And then he adds, that the genuine Christians, in their prayers to God, used no barbarous words, but prayed to him in the language of their respective countries, the *Greek* Christians in the *Greek* tongue, the *Romans* in the *Roman* language, as knowing that the God to whom they prayed understood all tongues and languages, and heard and accepted their prayers in their several languages, as well as if they had addressed themselves to him in one and the same language. Again in the same book, p. 420. to Celsus, discoursing much after the same rate, he gives this excellent answer: “The one
“God is to be atoned by us the Lord of all,
“and must be entreated to be propitious to us,
“piety and prayers being the best means of
“appeasing him. And if *Celsus* would have

“ others applied to after him, let him assure
“ himself, that as the body’s motion unavoi-
“ dably moves its shadow, so likewise when
“ God is once become propitious to any, all
“ his Angels, Souls, and Spirits, will become
“ friends to such an one.” From these testi-
monies of Origen, to which more might be
added, it is very evident that the Catholic
Christians of his time, made no prayers either
to Angels or Saints, but directed all their
prayers to God, through the alone mediation
of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Indeed, against
the Invocation of Angels and Saints, we have
the concurrent testimonies of all the Catholic
Fathers of the first three centuries at least;
for as to that testimony of Justin Martyr, in
his second (or rather first) Apology for the
Christians, p. 56. alledged by Bellarmin, and
others of his party, for the worshipping of
Angels, as practised in the primitive times of
the Church, I have given a clear account of
it, *Def. Fid. Nic.* § 2. c. 4. § 8. where I
have evidently proved that place of Justin to
be so far from giving any countenance to the
religious Worship of Angels, that it makes

directly against it. And the like may be easily shewn of the other allegations of Bellarmin out of the primitive Fathers.

To conclude : look into the most ancient Liturgies, as particularly that described in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and the *Clementine Liturgy*, contained in the book intituled *The Apostolical Constitutions*, and you will not find in them one prayer of any sort to Angels or Saints ; no, not so much as an oblique prayer (as they term it), *i. e.* a prayer directed to God, that he would hear the intercession of Angels and Saints for us. And yet after all this, they are for ever damned by the *Trent Creed* who do not hold and practise the Invocation of the Saints deceased. For this is one of the Articles of that Creed, without the belief whereof, they tell us, *none can be saved* ; that is, all are damned who pray unto God alone through Christ the Mediator, as the Scripture directs, and the Catholic Church of the first and best ages hath practised.

As to what follows, *that the Saints departed do offer up their Prayers to God for us*, if it

be understood of the intercession of the Saints in general, we deny it not. But this is no reason why we should pray to them to pray for us ; nay, on the contrary, if the deceased Saints do of their own accord, and out of their perfect charity, pray for us, what need we be so solicitous to call upon them for their prayers, especially when our reason and Scripture also tell us, that we are out of their hearing, and that they do not, cannot, know our particular wants and necessities ? For, as to what the Romanists tell us of the *Glass of the Trinity*, and extraordinary *Revelations*, they are bold presumptuous conjectures, destitute of any ground or colour from reason or Scripture, and indeed are inconsistent with one another. To be sure, that conceit of the *Glass of the Trinity* would never have passed with the Fathers of the first ages ; for they generally held, *That the Souls of the righteous* (some indeed excepted of the Souls of the Martyrs) *do not presently after Death ascend to the third Heaven, but go to a place and state of inferior bliss and happiness*, (which they commonly call by the name of Paradise,

though where it is situated they do not all agree,) and there remain till the Resurrection of their bodies ; after which they shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, and there for ever enjoy that consummate bliss and happiness which consists in that clear vision of God, which the holy Scripture calls seeing him face to face. And indeed, their distinction of Paradise, (the receptacle of holy Souls presently after Death,) from the third Heaven, seems to have firm ground in the New Testament: vid. Luke xxiii. 43 ; 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4, and *Grot. in loca* ; and was undoubtedly received in the Church of God, before the coming of the Lord in the flesh. However, this was a current doctrine in the Christian Church for many ages, till at length the *Popish* Council of *Florence* boldly determined the contrary, defining, *That those Souls, which having contracted the blemish of sin, being either in their Bodies, or out of them, purged from it, are presently received into Heaven, and there clearly behold God himself, one God in three Persons, as he is.* This decree they craftily made, partly

to establish the superstition of praying to Saints deceased, whom they would make us to believe to see and know all our necessities and concerns *in speculo Trinitatis*, as was said before, and so to be fit objects of our religious invocation, partly and chiefly to confirm the doctrine of Purgatory, and that the prayers of the ancient Church for the Dead might be thought to be founded upon a supposition that the souls of some, nay, most faithful persons, after death, go into a place of grievous torment, out of which they may be delivered by the Prayers, Masses, and Alms of the living. But this by the way.

It is added in the Creed, *That not only the Saints themselves, but also their Reliques are to be worshipped*; a strange definition of the *Trent* Fathers, especially if we consider the time when it was made; a time when the best and wisest men in the *Roman* Communion sadly complained of the vile cheat put upon the poor ignorant people, by shewing them I know not what Reliques of Saints, and drawing them to the worship of them, only for gain's sake and to pick their pockets.

Hear the judgment of the learned and pious Cassander as to this Article: "Seeing there
"are a small number of true and approved
"Reliques, especially in these provinces, and
"many of those which are made shew of are
"too apparently liable to suspicion, and the
"frequenting and veneration of them is of
"little service to true piety and devotion,
"though of very much to superstition or
"gain, it seems to me much more proper
"that all such ostentation of miracles were
"forborne, and the people were invited to
"worship the true Reliques of Saints; that
"is, the Examples of Piety and Virtue they
"have left behind them for our Imitation, as
"is recorded in what has been written either
"by them or of them."

The next Article of the *Trent* Creed is this: "I most firmly assert, that the Images
"of Christ, and the ever Virgin, Mother of
"God, and other Saints, are to be had and
"retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them." A doughty Article indeed, worthy to be ushered in with a *Firmissimè assero!* But is this really an

Article of the Catholic Christian Faith, without the belief whereof there is no salvation? What then is become again of the Catholic Church of the first three centuries and downwards; for it is certain that the Church of those days never allowed the use of Images in her Oratories or Conventicles, much less the Adoration and Worship of them? This appears from what we read of Adrian the Roman Emperor, related by *Ælius Lampridius* in the Life of *Alexander Severus*, that he, favouring the Christians, and willing to gratify them in their way of worship, commanded that they should have Temples built for them without any Images in them, as well knowing their utter aversion to the setting up of Images in the places of their religious worship. This also more plainly appears from the writings of the Christian Apologists of those times against the Heathens objecting to them, that they had no Images that they worshipped, and consequently that they were Atheists, and worshipped no God at all; for they thought there could be no religious worship of any thing without some visible Image of the

object to be worshipped, and finding no Image at all, of any sort, in the Oratories of the Christians, they concluded that the Christians worshipped no Deity. Now our Apologists are so far from pleading to this objection, that the Christians had Images in their places of Worship, that they answer without any distinction, by way of concession, and that not only granting that they had no Images, but affirming they ought not to have them, and condemned the Gentiles which had. See Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius.

In the fourth century, indeed, there were some attempts to bring in Pictures into the Christian Oratories ; but they were presently checked and repressed by the Governors of the Church, as appears from the 36th Canon of the Council of *Eliberis* in Spain, and from the relation which Epiphanius gives us (who flourished towards the end of the fourth century) in his Epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, translated by St. Jerome out of Greek into Latin, *tom. 2. Oper. Hieronymi*, where he tells John of Jerusalem, that going into a Church in the village of Anablatha to

pray, he found there a Picture hanging up, which, though it were out of his own dioeese, he cut in pieces, as being scandalous and contrary to the holy Scriptures; and desires John to take care for the future that no such Pictures be hung up in any Church under his jurisdiction. The words of Epiphanius are these:

“ At my entrance into the Church to pray,
“ I saw there a Veil hanging within the
“ doors of the same Church, dyed and painted,
“ and having the Image as it were of Christ,
“ or some Saint, for I do not well remember
“ whose it was. When therefore I had seen
“ this Image of a Man hanging in the Church
“ of Christ, against the authority of the
“ Scriptures, I tore it in pieces, and advised
“ the keepers of the place to wrap therewith
“ a poor dead man, and carry him to burial
“ in it. And whereas they on the other hand
“ murmured, saying, that if he would tear
“ the Veil, he ought in justice to change it,
“ and give them another for it: I no sooner
“ heard this, but I promised to give them one,
“ and that I would send it presently. How-
“ ever, some little time past, whilst I was

“ seeking after the best Veil, to send them
“ it ; for I thought I must send one from
“ Cyprus. But now I have sent such as I
“ could meet with ; and I beseech thee, com-
“ mand the Presbyters of that place to receive
“ the Veil we have sent from the bearer, and
“ to command for the future that no such
“ Veils as are contrary to our religion be hung
“ up in the Church of Christ ; for it becomes
“ thy worth to have the greater care in this
“ respect, that thou mayest take away all such
“ scruplosity as is unworthy of the Christian
“ Church, and the people committed to thy
“ charge.” The authority of this Epistle is
vindicated from the cavils of Bellarmin, by
the learned Andrew Rivet, in his *Criticæ
Sac. Spec. lib. 3, cap. 29*. How would the
zeal of this great and good Bishop have been
inflamed, if he had seen what we now-a-days
see, not only Pictures, but massy Images, in
Churches, and people praying, kneeling, and
burning incense before them.

By what means Image Worship in after
ages entered into the Church is not so easy
to tell, nor is it very necessary. But this is

certain, that about the beginning of the eighth century it had gotten great ground; for in the year of our Lord 754, in the reign of Constantine, nick-named *Copronymus*, a General Council was convened at Constantinople, consisting of 338 Bishops, declaring itself the seventh General Council; *vide Syn. CP. in Act. Syn. Nic. 2, p. 621, edit. Col. An. 1618.* This Synod expressly condemned all Worship of Images, *decreeing it to be abominable; and that all Images, of whatsoever matter or colour they were made, should be cast out of all Christian Churches* (*ibid. p. 965*). And presently after, they decree severe punishments to any man *that should dare from thence forward to make, worship, or set up in the Church, or in his own House, any such Image, as being a transgressor of the Commandment of God, and an enemy to the doctrine of the Fathers.* Where observe, that the Bishops of this Council condemn all Image Worship, as contrary both to Scripture, and also *to the doctrine of the Fathers of the Church that were before them*, as indeed we have already shewn it to be. In this Council,

Germanus bishop of Constantinople, Georgius Cyprius, and Damascene a Monk, who were the chief sticklers for Image Worship, were excommunicated.

About 30 years after, viz. An. 787, another Council met at Constantinople first, and was afterwards translated to Nice, in which the decree of the former Synod was exploded, and Image Worship first established in the Church. This Council was called by the Empress Irene, a bigoted Image worshipper : she had so great an influence upon this Synod, that partly by her persuasions, partly by her threatenings, several Bishops who in the former Synod had condemned Image Worship, were now for it. Among these, Basilus bishop of Ancyra, Theodorus bishop of Myra, and Theodosius bishop of Amorium, were brought in as *Pompæ Circenses*, and offered to this Council their letters supplicant, confessing that they had sinned in condemning the Worship of Images in the Synod convened by Constantinus Copronymus : *Dux fœmina facti*. It was a Woman that first brought this childish worship (the great Hincmar of

Rhemes calls it *Puparum cultum*, *Baby Worship*) into the Church of Christ. The Bishops in this Synod, being destitute of Scripture proof, and authentic tradition, for their Image Worship, betook themselves to *certain Apocryphal and ridiculous stories*,* as Charles the Great observed; for in this Synod, a letter from Adrian bishop of Rome to Constantine and Irene was produced and openly read, full of the most ridiculous fables, as particularly concerning the leprosy of Constantine the Great before his conversion; the barbarous remedy that he sought after by the blood of innocent babes; the appearing of St. Peter and St. Paul to him in a dream, advising him to send for Pope Sylvester, who, upon we know not what persecution raised by Constantine against the Christians, was fled with his Clergy to the Mountain Soracte, and there hid themselves in the caves thereof; that when Sylvester came to him, he commanded his Deacons to produce the Images of St. Peter and Paul, which as soon as the Emperor saw, he cried out aloud, *These are*

* Car. Mag. lib. 3. c. 3.

the very Images I saw in my dream, I am convinced, I believe, and desire the Laver of Baptism, which, when he had received, he was immediately cured of his leprosy ; that thereupon, in gratitude for the benefit he had received, he ordered Churches to be built for the Christians, whose walls and pillars should be adorned with the holy Images of Christ and the Saints. Was there ever such a legend offered to a Synod of Bishops? And yet this Letter of Adrian was accepted, and approved of by the whole Council. Had none of them read the Life of Constantine, written by Eusebius?

Wherefore, about seven years after, viz. An. 794, this *Nicene Synod* was condemned and abdicated by a Council of about 300 Bishops, convened at Frankford by Charles the Great king of France. In this Synod were present not only the Bishops of France, but also of Germany and Lombardy, as provinces subdued to the King of France. Pope Adrian also sent his Legates thither, and the Great Charles himself honoured this Council with his presenee.

The Romanists are hard put to it to ward the stroke of this Council against the Worshipers of Images. They have several evasions. Genebrard and Bellarmine tell us,* that the Fathers at Frankford mistook the meaning of the second Nicene Council, as thinking they had decreed "*the Worship due to God alone*" to be given to the Images of the Saints, which they were very far from doing. But it is far more probable that Genebrard and Bellarmine were both grossly mistaken. There were assembled in this Council almost all the learned Bishops of the West: they had the Acts of the second *Nicene* Synod before them; and diligently perused them, and upon examination condemned them as to the point of Image Worship. Besides, our Alcuinus, the Emperor's tutor, the most learned man of that age, had before so fully examined the *Nicene* Acts, that he wrote a learned discourse against them, and notably refuted them, as we shall hear by and by. Lastly, it is certain that the Fathers of the Council of Frankford did not condemn

* Lib. 3. Chron. An. 794, lib. 2. de Imag. cap. 14.

only *Cultum latriæ* to be given to Images, but all manner of religious Worship.

Others therefore tell us,* that they who urge the testimony of the Frankford Synod against Image Worshipping are utterly mistaken; that the Synod which the Fathers at Frankford condemned, was not the Council of *Nice*, but that of *Constantinople*, under Constantinus Copronymus; that the Frankford Synod perfectly agreed with the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, and confirmed the Worship of Images. This is strange news, indeed, but it is far from being true. The mistake of those writers who tell us this (if it were a mistake in them, and not a wilful prevarication) arose from hence, that the Synod which established Image Worship met first (as I noted before) at Constantinople, though it was afterwards translated to Nice, and so might be truly said to be a Council convened at Constantinople, and thereupon be mistaken for that Council of Constantinople, which was convened by Constantinus Copronymus, which

* Surius in adm. ad Lect. pro Syn. Frank. Coriolanus in Con. Frank. ad An. 794.

was indeed confirmed by the Frankford Fathers. But that it was the second Council of Nice, that was condemned by the Synod at Frankford, and that upon this very account that it had introduced Image Worship into the Church, we have abundant evidence.

For this is testified not only by Walfridius Strabo, but also by Ado Viennensis and Regino Pruniensis in their Histories, with whom Abbas Uspergensis agrees in his Chronicle, where he thus writes: “ In the year 793, “ whilst Charles was celebrating the feast of “ Easter in France, a numerous Synod of “ Bishops was gathered together out of all the “ provinces of the realm; the Legates of “ Pope Adrian were there also in his stead. “ In this Synod the heresy of a certain Bishop “ named Felix was condemned.—The “ Synod likewise which a few years before “ met at Constantinople, under Irene and “ Constantine her son, and was called the “ seventh General Council, was universally “ renounced as useless, that so it might “ neither be stiled the seventh, nor by any “ other name.” That the Council here said

to be condemned by the Frankford Synod. was the second Council of Nicé is evident, for it is expressly said to be the Council convened under the Empress Irene and Constantine her son, and that but a few years before. But it is said to be convened at Constantinople, because there indeed it first met, as was noted before.

Add to this the testimony of Hincmar of Rhemes, an author in all respects most worthy of credit in this matter : “ In the time of the
“ Emperor Charlemaign, a General Synod
“ was held in France by order of the Apostolic See, the said Emperor convening it.
“ And according to the direction of the holy
“ Scriptures, and the tradition of the ancients,
“ the Greek Synod was condemned and wholly
“ laid aside. Of the condemnation whereof
“ a volume of no small size was sent from the
“ same Emperor to Rome, by some of the
“ Bishops, and I myself have read it in the
“ palace in my younger days.”*

In the same chapter he afterwards adds,
“ Wherefore by the authority of this Synod,

* Cap. 20.

“ the Worship of Images was somewhat re-
“ strained ; yet not so, but that Adrian and
“ the other Bishops persevered in their
“ opinion, and after the death of Charles,
“ most earnestly promoted their Puppet Wor-
“ ship ; insomuch that Lewis, Charles’s son,
“ wrote a Book, wherein he fell much sharper
“ upon the Worship of Images than his
“ Father had done.”

With what indignation and abhorrence the decree of the *Nicene Pseudo-Synod* was received by our British Church, our Historians tell us. Hear Roger Hoveden :* “ Charles
“ king of France sent the Book of the
“ Council, directed to himself from Constan-
“ tinople, into Britain ; in which book, alas!
“ alas ! many things were found unagreeable,
“ and contrary to the true Faith : especially,
“ that by the unanimous assertion of almost
“ all the Eastern Doctors, that is to say, of
“ no less than three hundred or more Bishops,
“ the Worship of Images was confirmed ;
“ which the Church of God utterly abomi-

* Part 1, Annal. ad Ann. 792. Matth. West, ad Ann. 793.

“nated. Against which, Alcuinus wrote an
“Epistle, wonderfully supported with autho-
“rities out of the holy Scriptures, and brought
“it with the same book to the King of France,
“in the name of our Bishops and Princes.”

From whence it appears, that the *Nicene* Acts sent from Constantinople to Charles the Great were by him before the Frankford Synod first sent to Britain; and being examined, and abundantly refuted, and that from the holy Scriptures, by our most learned Alcuinus, were carried back again, together with that Refutation of them, to the Emperor in the name of our Bishops and Princes; so that even *then* the British Church was Protestant in this Article concerning Image Worship.

And indeed I am persuaded that no man of judgment and integrity, that hath been conversant in the holy Scriptures, and in the writings of the more ancient Doctors of the Church, will be able to read those Acts of the *Pseudo-Synod of Nice*, without indignation and abhorrence of it, when he observes upon what ridiculous fables, gross misinter-

pretations of Scripture, falsifications, and impertinent allegations of the ancient Fathers, the Bishops of that Convention built their decree concerning Image Worship. Notwithstanding all this, the Bishops at Trent chose to follow that wretched Synod, and have decreed, and that as an Article of Faith, most firmly to be asserted, *that the Images of Christ and the Saints are to be retained, yea, and worshipped too.* May not one presume to ask why? What necessity is there of this? Cannot the Church of Christ be as well without these Images, and this Image Worship, now, as it was in the more ancient and purer times of it? Nay, may we not farther ask, what good use *at all* can be made of these Images, and this Image Worship? The answer of the Romanists here is, that these Images are *Libri Laicorum et Idiotarum*—*Books fit to instruct the ignorant Laity* that cannot read the holy Scriptures, and apt to raise devotion in them. But to this plea for Image Worship, made use of by Wading, a Jesuit of Antwerp, his learned antagonist returns this excellent answer, with which I shall conclude what I

have to say upon this Article : * “ I deny not
“ but Images may be of use to the stupid
“ vulgar, who are led only by their senses, for
“ raising their devotion at the sight of them ;
“ but see, I pray thee, whether many more
“ and greater disadvantages are not to be
“ feared from the use and worship of them.
“ For in the first place, it is scarce possible
“ but that the ignorant and prophane vulgar
“ will be apt hence to imbibe filthy and sordid
“ notions of God and the Saints, will depend
“ upon these Images and Statues as their
“ tutelar Gods, will pay them as bad or worse
“ adoration than the Heathens paid to their
“ abominations ; and, lastly, will grow mere
“ brutes by using Images instead of Books,
“ as if there were no need of understanding
“ more than these will teach them. This,
“ were it proper, might be abundantly con-
“ firmed ; but I only appeal to experience,
“ as above all exception. In the next place,
“ it cannot be but the *Jews* must be most
“ intolerably scandalized at the use and wor-

* *Episcopii Resp. ad Epist. Pet. Wadingi de Cultu Imag. cap. 8.*

“ ship of Images, and will be the more averse
“ to all thoughts of ever embracing of Christ-
“ ianity, inasmuch as the worship of a Statue
“ or Image is a dreadful, heinous, and enor-
“ mous crime with them. They most firmly
“ believe, that he can never be the *Messiah*,
“ whose Disciples allow as lawful what is so
“ directly contrary to the Divine Law. And
“ this is to be reckoned so much the greater
“ evil, because it is almost the principal occa-
“ sion of all the Jews indignation against
“ Christ and Christians; so that their conver-
“ sion to our religion is, in my opinion, to be
“ despaired of, unless this stumbling-block be
“ first taken out of the way. Thirdly, offence
“ will hereby be inevitably given to an infinite
“ number of Christians, and they will be
“ irreconcilably alienated from your Church,
“ whilst having their minds possessed with a
“ true sense of the Divine prohibition, they
“ think they have just reason to look upon
“ Image Worship as no better than Idolatry;
“ when also, at the same time, those that con-
“ tend for it do not believe it necessary by
“ reason of any Divine command, yet, never-

“ theless, press it as much as in them lies upon
“ men’s consciences, as though it were neces-
“ sary. Who sees not what great evils and
“ inconveniences these are? The ignorant
“ people are tempted to continue in their
“ prophane sottishness; the *Jews* in their
“ destructive error; *Christians* in their deplo-
“ rable schism; and all good men in an end-
“ less despair of ever seeing an amendment.
“ So that I need not fear to make thyself the
“ judge between us, and beg thee to tell me
“ seriously, whether the single advantage of
“ using and worshipping Images will equal,
“ not to say preponderate, these so many and
“ so great mischiefs.”

The next Article is concerning Papal Indulgences, in these words: “ I also affirm,
“ that the power of granting Indulgences was
“ left by Christ to the Church, and the use of
“ them tends very much to the salvation of
“ Christians.” Now the doctrine of Indulgences, as it was before the Council of Trent, and hath been since taught in the Church of Rome, is big with gross errors. It depends on the fiction of Purgatory; it supposeth a

superfluity of the satisfactions of the Saints ; which being jumbled together (*horreo referens*) with the merits and satisfaction of our Saviour, make up one treasury of the Church ; that the Bishop of Rome keeps the key of it, as having the sole power of granting Indulgences, either by himself immediately, or by others commissioned from him ; lastly, it very absurdly extends the effect of the power of the keys, left by Christ in his Church to men in the other world. Is not this now a doctrine worthy of a place in our Creed, and to be made an Article of the Catholic Faith ! That the doctrine and use of Indulgences were never heard of in the Church of Christ for many hundred of years is certain, and confessed too by divers learned men of the Roman Communion. I shall cite only one of them ; but he such a one as may be *instar omnium*. Our Roffensis, Luther's great antagonist, and Rome's martyr, gives us this account* of Indulgences : “ Many perhaps “ are tempted not to rely much upon Indul- “ gences upon this consideration, that the use

* Act. 12. cont. Lutherum.

“ of them appears to be new, and very lately
“ known amongst Christians. To whom I
“ answer, it is not very certain who was the
“ first author of them. The doctrine of
“ Purgatory was rarely, if at all, heard of
“ amongst the ancients. And to this very
“ day the Greeks believe it not. Nor was
“ the belief either of Purgatory or Indulgences
“ so necessary in the primitive Church as it
“ is now. So long as men were unconcerned
“ about Purgatory, no body enquired after
“ Indulgences: for upon that depends all the
“ worth of Indulgences. Take away Purga-
“ tory, and there is no more need of these.
“ Seeing therefore Purgatory was so lately
“ known, and received in the universal Church,
“ who will wonder that in the first ages of
“ Christianity Indulgences were not made
“ use of?”

In this indeed the Bishop seems to be mistaken, that he thought the doctrine of Purgatory and the use of Indulgences to be coeval, and that the latter immediately and necessarily follows from the former. It is true, Purgatory and Papal Indulgences are

both of them later inventions. But I think, when men were first seduced to a belief of Purgatory, they were not yet presently so foolish, as to think that any one mortal man had power by his pardons to deliver men out of it. Antichristianism in the Roman Church did not presently come to that maturity, nor was the Papal power so soon advanced to that prodigious height and greatness. It was at first more reasonably judged, that the supposed miserable souls in Purgatory were to receive their relief rather from the prayers of the Church, together with the prayers, almsdeeds, and good works of their living friends and relations.

To sum up this matter in short: Papal Indulgences, as taught and used in the Church of Rome, (to which this Article of the Trent Creed must have reference, or else let any man tell me what the meaning of it is,) if they were freely granted, can by no means be justified and defended, but the merchandize and sale of them for money is abominable. That such a vile trade of Indulgences hath been driven in the Church of Rome, cannot

without the greatest impudence be denied as long as the *Taxa Cancellariæ Apostolicæ* is extant.* Of which filthy book Espencæus, a learned Doctor of the Roman Communion, thus sadly and most justly complains in *Epist. ad Tit. c. 1.* “ There is exposed to sale, and
“ easily to be had by any who will be at the
“ charge of purchasing it, a book openly and
“ publicly printed here, and which may be
“ had now as well as formerly, entituled,
“ *The Tax of the Apostolical Chamber or*
“ *Chancery*, whereby may be learned more
“ sorts of wickedness, than from all the sum-
“ mists and the summaries of all vices ; and a
“ licence for most of them, but an absolution
“ for all, is offered to such as will bid well for
“ it. I spare names, for as one, though at
“ present I cannot well recollect who, says,
“ the very repeating of them is offensive. It
“ is wonderful that during this time, and this
“ schism, such an infamous kind of Index of
“ so many such foul and horrid wickednesses,
“ that I cannot imagine any more scandalous
“ work is to be met with in Germany, or

* *Taxa Cancell. Apost. Paris. apud Tass. Denis. 1520.*

“Switzerland, or any of those countries that
“have withdrawn their obedience to the Papal
“See, should not have been suppressed. So
“far have the Factors from the Roman Com-
“munion been from suppressing it, that many
“new impunities for such so gross enormities
“are granted, and the rest confirmed, in the
“Faculties of the Legates dispatched to their
“several countries.” A little after he adds,*
out of Mantuan, “’Tis sad to see how money
“carries all things at Rome.” And not very
long before the Council of Trent, what a
prodigious mass of money Pope Leo raised by
these Indulgences, the noble historian Thua-
nus tells us:† “Leo (saith he), to the guilt
“of his dispensations, added another and
“greater, when at the instigation of the
“Cardinal Laurence Picus, he every where
“exacted monies in vast sums, sending his
“Bulls through all the kingdoms of Christen-
“dom, promising forgiveness of all their sins,
“and eternal life, at a price stated according
“to the quality of their crimes.”

In a word, all sober men cried shame at

* Eccl. 9.

† Ad. Ann. 1515.

this abominable cheat, imposed on the souls of men for whom Christ died. And if the men that influenced and governed the Trent Convention had had any true sense of religion, they would have denounced an anathema against this vile doctrine and practice, and not (as they have done) decreed, and that as an Article of Faith, without any restriction or qualification, "That the use of Indulgences
"is highly conducing to the salvation of
"Christians." But they were the Pope's vassals, and received their instructions from Rome not to reform any thing, though never so much amiss, that tended to the grandeur and gain of that See.

The last Article I shall take notice of is contained in these words: "I acknowledge
"the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman
"Church to be the Mother and Mistress of
"all Churches, and promise true obedience
"to the Pope of Rome, successor to St.
"Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and the
"Vicar of Jesus Christ." Here the Ecclesiastic swears to three great untruths one upon the neck of another. 1. *That the Roman*

Church is the Mother of all other Churches, which is a manifest falsehood in matter of fact ; for every body knows that the Church of Jerusalem was the first Mother Church, and is so called and acknowledged by the ancient Fathers. St. Jerome saith,* “ It was “ the Church founded at Jerusalem, that “ planted all the other Churches.” And the Synodical Letters from the Council of Constantinople to Damascus, and the Western Bishops, call Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, *which is the Mother of all Churches.*† From this truly Mother Church divers other Churches were planted in the East, before the Gospel came to Rome ; as particularly the Church of Antioch, where the Disciples were first called Christians.‡ Upon the persecution raised against the Church of Jerusalem, the Christians of that Church being dispersed and scattered abroad, soon spread the Gospel far and near through the East. And to come nearer home, it is affirmed by some learned men of the Roman Church, that

* Comment. in Isai. ii.

† Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 9.

‡ Acts xi. 26.

our Britain received the Gospel before Rome. For Suarez confesseth* that the Gospel was preached here from the first rising of it ; and Baronius, from some MSS. in the Vatican, affixeth our conversion to Christianity to the 35th year of our Lord, which was near nine years before the founding of the Roman Church. But if the credit of these MSS. be questionable, this however is evident, that our Britain did not receive her first Christianity from Rome, but from the East. This, I say, is evident, from the customs observed here from the beginning in the observation of Easter, and the administration of Baptism, different from the Roman use, but conform to the oriental Churches. So that we may justly check the arrogance of the present Roman Church in the words of St. Paul to the proud Corinthians, setting up among themselves certain customs contrary to the institutes of all other Churches : *Came the Word of God out from you ? or, came it to you only ?*† Q. d. Are you the first and only Christians ? Your Church the first and only Church of

* Defens. Fid. Cath. l. 1. † 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

Christ? Yes, say the Romanists, our Church is the Mother of all other Churches. But this is apparently false, *for the Law first came out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* The Church of Rome pretends also to be the only Church of Christ, *i. e.* that there is no true Church of Christ but what is in union with and subjection to her. But this is as false a claim as the other ; for there were divers true Churches of Christ before the Church of Rome was in being, which therefore could have no dependence upon her.

2. *That the Church of Rome is the Mistress of all other Churches* is another great untruth : a proposition, which, if it should have been advanced in the first ages of the Church, would have startled all Christendom. Every Metropolitcal Church would presently have stood up, and loudly pleaded her own immunities, rights, and privileges, independent upon Romé or any other metropolis. These rights and privileges were confirmed as of primitive and ancient custom by the 6th Canon of the great Council of Nice, as hath

been before shewn ; established also by the 8th Canon of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, as by and by will appear. Indeed, in the days of old, when the Church of Rome was quite another thing from what now it is, all other Churches, upon several accounts, paid a singular respect to her, and gave her the pre-eminence ; but they never acknowledged her Mistressship over them, or themselves to be her serving maids. This language would then have sounded very harsh, and been esteemed insolent and arrogant by all the Churches of Christ. In later days indeed, she hath made herself mistress, but a mistress of misrule, disturbing the peace, invading the rights, and imposing upon the faith of other Churches.

3. *That the Bishop of Rome is the Vicar of Christ, i. e.* under Christ the Head and Governor of the Universal Church, is another gross untruth. The universal pastorship and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over all other Bishops was never heard of, never pretended to by any Bishop of that Church, for the first six hundred years and more, as I have

before shewn. To which, all that I shall now add concerns our *British* Church. We say, then, our Church of Britain was never under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome for the first six hundred years, Britain being a distinct diocese of the Empire, and consequently having a Primate of her own, independent upon any other Primate or Metropolitan. This appears first from the customs of our Church during that time, in the observation of Easter, and the administration of Baptism, different from, as was before observed, the Roman custom, but agreeing with the Asiatic Churches. For it is altogether incredible, that the whole British Church should so unanimously have dissented from Rome for so many hundred years together, if she had been subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop, or that the Roman Bishop all that time should suffer it, if he had had a Patriarchal power over her.

Secondly, the same is evident by the unanimous testimony of our historians, who tell us that when Austin the Monk came into Britain, as St. Gregory's Legate, (which was

after the sixth century was fully complete and ended,) and required submission from our Church to the Bishop of Rome as her Patriarch, the proposal was rejected, as of a new and strange thing never heard of before. The answer of Dinotus, the learned Abbot of Bangor, in the name of all the Britons, is famous, viz. “That they knew no obedience “due to him, whom they called the Pope, but “the obedience of love, and that under God “they were governed by the Bishop of Caerleon.” Under God, *i. e.* immediately, without any foreign Prelate or Patriarch intervening, they were to be governed by the Bishop of Caerleon, as their only Primate and Patriarch; which privilege continued to the succeeding Bishops of that See for several ages, saving that the Archiepiscopal Chair was afterwards removed from Caerleon to St. David’s. And that this was indeed the sense not only of Dinotus, but of all the whole body of our British Clergy at that time, all our historians tell us, witnessing the absolute and unanimous resolution of the British Clergy, both Bishops and Priests, synodically

met together not to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome: vide *Spel. Com. Gual. Mon. lib. 2. cap. 12. Bedam omnesque alios.*

This being the ancient privilege of the British Church, we have an undoubted right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, by the ancient Canons of the Catholic Church; particularly by the sixth Canon of the great Nicene Council above mentioned, by which it was decreed, *That the ancient customs should every where obtain, and that the then privileges of every Province should be preserved inviolate.* But this is most evident from the eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus, occasioned by the famous case of the Cyprian Bishops, which was this: the Metropolitan of Cyprus being dead (Troilus the Bishop of Constance), the Bishop of Antioch pretended that it belonged to him to ordain their Metropolitan, because Cyprus was within the civil jurisdiction of the diocese of Antioch. Upon this, the Cyprian Bishops made their complaint to the general Council at Ephesus, grounding it upon the

Nicene Canon, and pleading that their Metropolitan had been of ancient time exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antioch, and was ordained by a Synod of Cyprian Bishops; which privilege was not only confirmed to them by the Ephesine Council, but a general decree passed, *That the rights of every Province should be preserved whole and inviolate, which it had of old, according to the ancient custom.* And it is to be observed, that the Bishop of Antioch had a more colourable pretence to a jurisdiction over the Cyprian Bishops, than Gregory could have to a jurisdiction over our British Churches; for Cyprus was indeed within the civil jurisdiction of Antioch, but our Britain was originally itself a distinct diocese of the Empire. Yet the Ephesine Fathers judged, that ancient custom should prevail in the case of the Cyprian Bishops; how much more then should it in ours? Certainly Pope Gregory, when by his Legate Austin, he challenged to himself a jurisdiction over our *British Church*, was ignorant of, or had forgotten, or else regarded not the Canons of the Nicene and

Ephesine Councils. If it be objected, that our *British Church* afterwards submitted herself to the Bishop of Rome as her Patriarch, which power he enjoyed for many ages, and that therefore our first Reformers cannot be excused from schism, in casting off that power which by so long a prescription he was possessed of, we answer, we did indeed yield ourselves to the Roman Usurpation, but it was because we could not help it; we were at first forced, awed, and affrighted into this submission. For, who hath not heard of the barbarous massacre of the poor innocent Monks of Bangor, to the number of twelve hundred, for refusing Austin's proposal, and asserting the ancient rights and privileges of the Britannic Churches? When this force ceased, and we were left to our liberty and freedom of resuming our primitive rights, why might we not do it, as we saw occasion, without the imputation of schism? This is not only our just plea, but it is ingenuously confessed by Father Barns, our learned countryman, and of the Roman Communion.* His

* Cath. Rom. Pacif. sect. 3.

words are these : “ The Island of Britain
 “ anciently enjoyed the same privilege with
 “ that of Cyprus, that is to say, of being in
 “ subjection to the laws of no Patriarch;
 “ which privilege, though heretofore abolished
 “ by tumults and force of war, yet being
 “ recovered by consent of the whole kingdom,
 “ in Henry the Eighth’s reign, seems for
 “ peace sake most proper to be retained, so it
 “ be done without breach of Catholic unity,
 “ or incurring the charge of schism.” Indeed
 we had very great reason to resume our primitive right, and privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, when by means thereof he lorded it over our faith, and imposed manifest and gross corruptions, both in doctrine and worship, upon our consciences. But this by the way. We return to the Article of the Trent Creed now before us.

Concerning which, it is farther to be observed, that it founds the universal Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome upon a *Divine right* : it says, the *Bishop of Rome is the Vicar of Jesus Christ* ; i. e. under Christ the Head and Governor of the Universal Church.

Quo jure? He is St. Peter's successor. What then? Why St. Peter was constituted by Christ the Prince of the Apostles, *i. e.* (if there be any connexion of parts in the Article) he had by Christ committed to him authority and jurisdiction over the rest of the Apostles, and consequently over the whole Church.

But the falsehood and folly of this pretence hath been manifestly exposed by very many writers of our Church. Particularly that great man Dr. Bramhall, Primate of Ireland,* hath sufficiently refuted it in these few words :

“ Let us consider, (saith he,)

“ *First*, That all the twelve Apostles were
“ equal in mission, equal in commission, equal
“ in power, equal in honour, equal in all
“ things except priority of order, without
“ which no society can well subsist.

“ So much Bellarmin confesseth,† that by
“ these words, *As my Father sent me*, so
“ *send I you*, our Saviour endowed them with
“ all the fulness of power that mortal men
“ were capable of. And therefore no single

* Davenant Determ. Q. 47.

† De Pont. lib. 4. cap. 22.

“Apostle had jurisdiction over the rest:
 “*equals have no power over each other*; but
 “the whole College of Apostles, to which
 “the supreme managery of ecclesiastical
 “affairs did belong in common: whether a
 “new Apostle was to be ordained, or the
 “office of Deaconship was to be erected; or
 “fit persons were to be delegated for the
 “ordering of the Church, as Peter and John,
 “Judas and Silas;* or informations of great
 “moment were to be heard, as against Peter
 “himself, (though Peter out of modesty
 “might condescend and submit to that to
 “which he was not obliged in duty, yet it had
 “not become the other Apostles to sit as
 “judges upon their superior, placed over
 “them by Christ); or whether the weightier
 “questions, of the calling of the Gentiles,
 “and Circumcision, and the Law of Moses,
 “were to be determined; still we find the
 “Supremacy in the College.

“*Secondly*, That drowsy dream, that the
 “plenitude of ecclesiastical power and juris-

* Acts i, vi, viii, xi. xy.

“ diction was given by Christ to St. Peter,
 “ as to an ordinary pastor, to be derived from
 “ him to his successors, but to the rest of the
 “ Apostles as delegates for term of life, to
 “ die with themselves, as it is lately and boldly
 “ asserted, without reason, without authority
 “ either divine or human ; so it is most re-
 “ pugnant to the doctrine of the Fathers, who
 “ make all Bishops to be the Vicars and Em-
 “ bassadors of Christ (not of the Pope), and
 “ successors of the Apostles, indifferently
 “ *Vicaria Ordinatione*, who make but one
 “ episcopacy in the world, whereof every Bishop
 “ hath his share. St. Peter was a Pastor, and
 “ the Pastoral Office is of perpetual necessity
 “ in the Church. True ; but so were all the
 “ rest of the Apostles Pastors as well as he.
 “ And if we examine the matter more nar-
 “ rowly, *cui bono* ? For whose advantage this
 “ distinction was devised ? It was not for St.
 “ Peter’s own advantage, who, setting aside
 “ his principality of order, is confessed to have
 “ had but an equal share of power with his
 “ fellow Apostles ; but for the Pope’s advan-
 “ tage, and the Roman Courts, whom they

“ desire to invest solely with the key of all
 “ original jurisdiction.

“ And if we trace on this argument a little
 “ farther, to search out how the Bishop of
 “ Rome comes to be St. Peter’s heir, *ex asse*,
 “ to the exclusion of his elder brother the
 “ Bishop of Antioch, they produce no autho-
 “ rity that I have seen, but a blind, ill-
 “ grounded legend, out of a counterfeit
 “ *Hegesippus*, of St. Peter’s being about to
 “ leave Rome, and Christ’s meeting him upon
 “ the way, and admonishing him to return to
 “ Rome, where he must be crucified for his
 “ name ; which reason halts on both sides :
 “ the foundation is apocryphal, and the
 “ superstructure is weak and unjointed, with-
 “ out any necessary connection.”

We have now, I think, sufficiently made
 good our second charge against the Church of
 Rome, viz. *That she hath changed the pri-
 mitive Canon and Rule of Faith, by adding
 many new Articles to it ; and those so far
 from being necessary Articles of Faith, that
 they are not truths, but manifestly erroneous
 propositions, repugnant to reason, Scripture,*

and the sense of the primitive Catholic Church. And yet all the Clergy of the Roman Communion are now forced not only to subscribe, but in the most solemn manner to swear to them. O miserably enslaved Clergy!

There was a time when the Gallican Church understood her own liberty, and boldly asserted it, refusing to own the authority of the Trent Convention, as being altogether influenced and governed by the Court of Rome. 'Twas a brave protestation of the Ambassador of France, made in the face of the Council of Trent, in the name of the King his master, and the French Clergy, in these words: * *We refuse to be subject to the command and disposition of Pius the Fourth; we reject, refuse, and condemn all the judgments, censures, and decrees of the said Pius. And although, most holy Fathers, your religion, life, and learning, were ever, and ever shall be, of great esteem with us, yet seeing indeed you do nothing, but all things are done at Rome rather than at Trent, and the things that are here published are rather the De-*

* Goldast. tom. 3. p. 571.

crees of Pius the Fourth than of the Council of Trent, we denounce and protest here before you all, that whatsoever things are decreed and published in this Assembly, by the meer will and pleasure of Pius, neither the most Christian King will ever approve, nor the French Clergy ever acknowledge to be the Decrees of a General Council.

I wish the Gallican Church had still persisted in this resolution. Yes (saith a great man of our Church), *so she did, and doth to this day. For though she doth not oppose the Council of Trent, but acquiesce, to avoid such disadvantages as must ensue thereupon, yet she did never admit it.** I should be heartily glad if this were true. But if all the Clergy of France, which represent the French Church, do, as well as the Clergy of the other Roman Catholic dominions, subscribe and swear to the Trent Creed, (as I suppose they do; and if they did not, I cannot see how they could be accounted within the Communion of the Roman Church,) then they admit of the Council of Trent with a witness, in its

* Bramhall, tom. 1. p. 128.

full extent and latitude, as to all its canons, decrees, and definitions, not only which concern points of doctrine (as is pretended), but all other which relate to the discipline and government of the Church. For this is the last Article of the Trent Creed : “ Moreover
 “ what things soever else are delivered, defined,
 “ and declared by the Sacred Canons and
 “ Œcumenical Councils, and especially by the
 “ holy Council of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess.”

Sect. IV. 3. The third and last thing we charge the Church of Rome with, is, *That she hath lamentably corrupted the primitive Liturgy, and Form of Divine Worship.* This was a necessary consequent of the former; so corrupt a faith could not but produce as corrupt a worship. To enumerate and represent in their proper colours all the corruptions of the worship of God in the Roman Church would fill a large volume. I shall therefore only briefly point at some of them. The prayers of that Church are in a tongue generally not understood by the people, con-

trary to reason, which of itself dictates, that when we pray to God we ought to understand our own prayers ; contrary to the plain declaration of Scripture (1 Cor. xiv.) ; contrary to the practice of the Catholic Church in the first ages, when Christians every where prayed to God in the language of their respective countries, as Origen expressly tells us in his eighth Book against Celsus, p. 402. Justin Martyr also, who lived very near the Apostolic age, informs us, that in the Christian assemblies of his time there were Κοιναί Εὐχαί, Common Prayers, *i. e.* prayers wherein all that were present, joined in common, and bore a part ; and that (as we learn from other very ancient authors)* by making their *responses* aloud in due place, and by saying the other prayer after the Priest or Deacon, *submissâ voce*. Now there are no such Common Prayers in the Church of Rome, the Priests say and do all, the people being left to gaze about, or to whisper one to another, or to look upon their private manuals of devotion, according as their inclination leads them.

* Cyprian. Serm de Oratione.

Again, whereas in the first and best ages the Churches of Christ directed all their prayers, according to the Scripture, to God only through the alone mediation of Jesus Christ : the Liturgy of the present Church of Rome is interspersed with supplications and prayers to Angels and Saints, the unwarrantableness whereof I have above sufficiently shewn. To what is there said, I shall only add these two considerations :

1st, Supposing (not granting) the learned men of the Roman Church could, by their subtle distinction, so refine the practice of the Invocation of Angels and Saints, as to make it innocent to themselves ; yet experience tells us, that the common people, who understand not those distinctions, are prone to transgress, and run into sin, and a grievous sin too, in their practice of it, viz. to be taken off in a great degree from that trust and affiance, that entire dependence on Christ, that love and gratitude toward him which they ought to have, and indeed to be more fond of the Saints than of their Saviour. It is visible to all men, with what zeal the silly deluded souls

run to the shrines of the Saints, how even prodigal they are in their offerings to them, when in the mean time their devotion toward their Saviour is very cold, and their oblations to him sparing and niggardly. This is so manifest, that it hath been confessed by learned men of the Roman Communion. It is acknowledged by Biel, in *Can. Miss. Lect.* 30. in *Expos. Cant. Mariæ*; “Most of us
“are more affected towards some Saint than
“towards our Lord himself;” by our Hallensis, *Par.* 4. *Quest.* 26. *Memb.* 3. “some-
“times sinners are more inclinable to supplicate
“the Saints than the Judge.” Cassander also confesseth, there are men in the Church of Rome, (otherwise no ill men,) who trust in their Patron Saints more than in Christ their Redeemer. His words are these:
“There are some, and those no bad men
“neither, who have made choice of certain
“Saints for their Patrons and Guardians, and
“put more trust in their merits and inter-
“cession, than in the merits of Christ.”

2dly. Whereas it is pretended by some Romanists, especially of late, that their prayers

to Saints amount to no more than an *Ora pro nobis*, a praying or desiring them to pray for us, as we desire the prayers of one another here on earth; this is manifestly false. For besides what hath been before observed, that they pray to Saints deceased, and in a state and place vastly distant from them, wherein they cannot possibly hear their prayers, unless by revelation, or in *Speculo Trinitatis*, which are groundless imaginations: I say besides this, divers of their greatest Doctors ingenuously confess, yea and boldly profess, that they pray to the Saints, as they are appointed by God to be *canales gratiæ* between him and us,—conduit pipes or instruments of conveying his grace to us. So our Halensis;* “Seeing the Divine grace descends upon us
 “by means of the Saints, it is but fit that
 “our ascent to God be through their media-
 “tion.” So their learned Archbishop of Florence;† “It is the law of the Deity to
 “raise the things below to those that are
 “above, by those in the middle; but as to
 “the gifts of grace, the Saints stand in the

* Part 4. Quest. 26. Art. 5. † Part 3. tit. 3.

“middle betwixt God and such as are travellers towards him. Hence the divine benefits descend upon us by the mediation of Angels and holy souls.” They say also, that the Saints do procure for us, and convey to us, God’s blessings by the merit of their intercession, and that this is the ground of their praying to them. So again *ubi supra*: “The Saints are invoked by us by reason of our want of merit, that where our defects fail, those of others may help us out.” So the great master of the sentences, Peter Lombard: “We pray them to intercede for us; that is, that their merits may succour us.”*

And indeed most of their prayers to the Saints are so expressed, that they cannot without violence be interpreted to any other sense.

But most extravagant is the invocation and worship of the blessed Virgin, used and practised in the Church of Rome. I will not urge here the Hymn in Cassander’s time sung in their Churches:† “Beseech thy Mother,

* Lib. 4. Dist. 45.

† Cassand. Cos. Art. 21. de Cult. Sanct.

“command thy Son, O happy Parent, who
 “makest expiation for our wickedness, by thy
 “authority as a Mother command the Re-
 “deemer.” Nor the Psalter of our Lady,
 mentioned also by Cassander, as that which
 was in use in his time, in which through the
 whole Book of Psalms, wheresoever the name
 of the Lord occurred, it was changed into the
 name of our Lady. Though I know not
 whether those horrid blasphemies were ever
 censured and condemned by any public act of
 the Roman Church.

But I do affirm, that there are still such
 addresses and forms of prayer to the blessed
 Virgin, either enjoined, or allowed by autho-
 rity to be used in the Church of Rome, as no
 man, who hath a due concern for the honour
 of his Redeemer, can read or hear without
 abhorrence and detestation. Such is that, in
 the Office of blessed Mary, where they thus
 speak to her; “Hail Queen, the Mother of
 “Mercy, our life, delight, and hope, hail: we
 “shelter ourselves under thy protection, de-
 “spise not our supplications in the times of
 “our necessity, but deliver us from all dan-

“gers, thou ever glorious Virgin.” This is surely more than a *pray for us*: for they pray unto her as their life and hope, and fly to her as their refuge and protection, beseeching her to deliver them always from all dangers; but chiefly it is to be remarked that she is here called the *Queen and Mother of Mercy*. Would you know the meaning of this? Berthorius will tell you:* “The truth is, whereas the kingdom of God consists in these two virtues, Justice and Mercy, God bestowed on Mary, the Queen of Paradise, the half part of his kingdom, that is, the Mercy. And for this cause it is, she is called the Mother of Mercy.” The same exposition you may find in Biel.† And Cassander also acknowledgeth this to be the sense of that title given to the blessed Virgin.

In the Litany of our Lady published in English here among us, she is called “Queen of Angels, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, source of the Fountain of Grace,

* Lib. 19. Moralitatum cap. 4.

† In Canon. Missæ Lect. 8.

“ Refuge of Sinners, Comfort of the Afflicted, “ and Advocate of all Christians.” Now we have no instance of such attributes given to the blessed Virgin, either in the holy Scriptures, or in the writings of the ancient Fathers; and indeed they are too big for any mere creature. For here the government of Heaven, and all the holy Angels therein, is attributed to her, which belongs only to our Lord Christ.* And what do they mean by that title which they give her of *Source* (Scaturigo) *of the Fountain of Grace*? I cannot imagine any other meaning of it than this, that the Virgin Mary receiving first the emanation or efflux of grace from God the fountain of grace, by and through her all grace is carried and conveyed down to all the faithful. And so indeed Bernardinus explains the matter in these words :† “ No creature has obtained any grace “ or virtue from God, but by the dispensation “ of this pious Mother.” They that under this notion address themselves to the blessed Virgin, surely do much more than desire her

* Ephes. i. 20, 21, 22.

† Serm. 61. Art. 1. c. 28.

to pray for them, as we desire the prayers of one another.

What do they mean when they say she is the Refuge of Sinners? From what hath been said before, concerning the kingdom of mercy, supposed to be committed to the blessed Virgin, and concerning the title of Queen of Mercy given her, we may conclude the sense to be this, that when sinners are troubled in their consciences, and terrified with a sense of their sins, and of the judgments of God denounced against them, they may and ought to have recourse to her, as the Queen of Mercy, as their *asylum* and sanctuary to shelter and protect them from the divine vengeance. This a credible Author assures us hath been represented in several Roman Catholic Temples, in which Christ hath been painted with an angry menacing countenance, casting his darts against sinners, and the blessed Virgin interposing herself as mediatrix and repelling his darts. But Christ our Lord directs poor guilty sinners, whose consciences are oppressed with the burthen of their sins, to a far better refuge, yea the only refuge they are to fly to,

even to himself: *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* (Matth. xi. 28.)

And who can read without the greatest horror such a prayer to the blessed Virgin as this that follows: *O my Lady, holy Mary, I recommend myself into thy blessed trust, and singular custody, and into the bosom of thy mercy, this night and evermore, and in the hour of my death, as also my soul and my body; and I yield unto thee all my hope and consolation, all my distress and miseries, my life and the end thereof, that by thy most holy intercession, and by thy merits, all my works may be directed according to thine and thy Son's will. Amen.* What fuller expressions can we use to declare our absolute affiance, trust, and dependence, on the eternal Son of God himself, than they here use in this recommendation to the Virgin? And who observes not that the will of the blessed Virgin is expressly joined with the will of her Son, as the rule of our actions, and that so as that her will is set in the first place; a smatch of their old blasphemous impiety, in

advancing the Mother above the Son, and giving her a commanding power over him? Yet this recommendation to the blessed Virgin is to be seen in a Manual of Prayers and Litanies, printed at Antwerp, no longer ago than 1671, and that *permissu Superiorum* appointed to be used in the evening prayer for Friday. The book I had from a near relation of mine (who had been seduced to the Church of Rome, but afterwards returned again to the communion of the Church of England) who assured me, that she herself used it by the direction of her Confessor in her private devotions.

There was a book published (and that too *permissu Superiorum*), and in great vogue among our English Catholics, in the reign of King James the Second, entituled, *Contemplations of the Life and Glory of the holy Mary*; wherein you may find these words, *God hath by a solemn covenant pronounced Mary to be the treasury of wisdom, grace, and sanctity under Jesus. So that whatsoever gifts are bestowed upon us by Jesus, we receive them by the mediation of Mary: no*

one being gracious to Jesus who is not devoted to Mary, nor hath any one been specially confident of the patronage of Mary, who hath not through her received a special blessing from Jesus. Whence it is one great mark of the predestination of the elect, to be singularly devoted to Mary, since she hath a full power as a mother to obtain of Jesus whatever he can ask of God the Father, and is comprehended within the sphere of man's predestination to glory, redemption from sin, and regeneration by grace. Neither hath any one petitioned Mary, who was refused by Jesus; nor trusted in Mary, and was abandoned by Jesus. Afterwards he tells us, p. 9, That though the condition of some great sinners may be so deplorable, that all the limited excellency, merits, and power, of all the Saints and Angels, cannot effectually bend the mercies of Jesus to relieve them, yet such is the acceptableness of the Mother of Jesus to Jesus, that whosoever is under the verge of her protection, may confide in her intercessions to Jesus. There needs no comment to set forth the horridness of these assertions.

Upon the whole matter, I cannot but think those silly women of Arabia, who once a year offered a cake in honour to the blessed Virgin as Queen of Heaven, to be as excusable at least as her devotees in the Church of Rome. And yet they in their days were thought worthy of a place in the catalogue of heretics.* Sure I am most of the arguments Epiphanius useth against the Colliridians may serve every whit as well against the Papists.

To pass by the Worship of Images, allowed and practised in the Church of Rome, of which I have said enough before.

Come we now to the principal part of the Christian worship, the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. How lamentably hath the Church of Rome vitiated the primitive institution of that most sacred rite! She hath taken from the Laity the blessed Cup, contrary to our blessed Saviour's express command, as expounded by the practice of the Apostles, and of the universal Church of Christ, for the first ten centuries, as hath been above observed.

All the learned advocates of the Roman

* Heres. 79.

Church, with all their sophistry, have not been able to defend her in this matter from manifest sacrilege, and a violation of the very essentials of the Sacrament, as to the Laity administered, nor can they prove it so administered to be a perfect Sacrament. He that would see this in a short compass fully proved, and all the weak evasions of the Romanists obviated, may consult our learned Bishop Davenant.* Besides, the whole administration of it is so clogged, so metaphorized and defaced by the addition of a multitude of ceremonies, and those some of them more becoming the stage, than the table of our Lord, that if the blessed Apostles were alive, and present at the celebration of the Mass in the Roman Church, they would be amazed, and wonder what the meaning of it was; sure I am, they would never own it to be that same ordinance which they left to the Churches.

But the worst ceremony of all is the elevation of the Host, to be adored by the people, as very Christ himself under the appearance of Bread, whole Christ, Θεάνθρωπος, God

* Determ. Quest. 58.

and Man, while they neglect the old *sursum corda*, the lifting up of their hearts to Heaven, where whole Christ indeed is. A practice this is, which nothing can excuse from the grossest idolatry, but their gross stupidity, or rather infatuation, in thinking that a piece of bread can by any means whatsoever, or howsoever consecrated and blessed, become their very God and Saviour: a very sad excuse indeed. Moreover, by what reason, by what Scripture, by what example or practice of the primitive Churches, can the Romanists defend their carrying about the holy Sacrament in procession, or the mockery of their solitary Masses? I might pass from the holy Eucharist to the other Sacrament of Baptism, and expose the many strange ceremonies used in the Roman Church in the Consecration of the Font, and in the very administration of that Sacrament. I might also take notice of the Prayers used by the order of the Roman Church in the consecration or blessing of certain inanimate things, for the producing supernatural effects, such as curing diseases, driving away devils, &c. without any warrant

from Scripture, or promise of God, that such effects shall follow. But I shall stop here.

I have now gone through the several heads of discourse which I proposed to myself, and sufficiently, I think, proved that the Church of Rome hath altered the *Primitive Ecclesiastical Government*; changed the *Primitive Canon or Rule of Faith*; and lastly, miserably corrupted the *Primitive Liturgy and Form of Divine Worship*. For these reasons laid together, I can never be induced to enter into the Communion of the Roman Church as now it is; and for the same reason (to speak my mind freely), I wonder how so learned a man as *Monsieur de Menur* can with a good and quiet conscience continue in it.

Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.
(Jer. vi. 16.)

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

The DIFFERENCES in the chief Points of Religion between the ROMAN CATHOLICS and us of the CHURCH of ENGLAND; together with the AGREEMENTS which we for our parts profess, and are ready to embrace, if they for theirs were as ready to accord with us in the same. Written to the late COUNTESS of PETERBOROUGH, by DR. JOHN COSINS, afterwards Lord Bishop of Durham.

THE DIFFERENCES.

WE that profess the Catholic faith and religion in the Church of England, do not agree with the Roman Catholics in any thing whereunto they now endeavour to convert us. But we totally dissent from them (as they do

from the ancient Catholic Church) in these points :

1. That the Church of Rome is the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches in the world.

2. That the Pope of Rome is the Vicar General of Christ ; or that he hath an universal jurisdiction over all Christians that shall be saved.

3. That either the Synod of Trent was a General Council, or that all the Canons thereof are to be received as matters of Catholic faith under pain of damnation.

4. That Christ hath instituted seven true and proper Sacraments in the New Testament, neither more nor less, all conferring grace, and all necessary to salvation.

5. That the Priests offer up our Saviour in the Mass, as a real, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that whosoever believes it not is eternally damned.

6. That in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the whole substance of Bread is converted into the substance of Christ's Body, and the whole substance of Wine into his Blood, so

truly and properly, as that after Consecration, there is neither any Bread nor Wine remaining there; which they call Transubstantiation, and impose upon all persons under pain of damnation to be believed.

7. That the Communion under one kind is sufficient and lawful (notwithstanding the institution of Christ under both), and that whosoever believes or holds otherwise is damned.

8. That there is a Purgatory after this life, wherein the souls of the dead are punished, and from whence they are fetched out by the prayers and offerings of the living; and that there is no salvation possibly to be had by any that will not believe as much.

9. That all the old Saints departed, and all those dead men and women whom the Pope hath of late canonized for Saints, or shall hereafter do so, whosoever they be, are and ought to be invoked by the religious prayers and devotions of all persons, and that they who do not believe this as an article of their Catholic faith cannot be saved.

10. That the Reliques of all these true or

reputed Saints ought to be religiously worshipped; and that whosoever holdeth the contrary is damned.

11. That the Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and of the other Saints, ought not only to be had and retained, but likewise to be honoured and worshipped, according to the use and practices of the Roman Church; and that this is to be believed as of necessity to salvation.

12. That the power and use of Indulgences, as they are now practised in the Church of Rome, both for the living and the dead, is to be received and held of all under pain of eternal perdition.

13. That all the Ceremonies used by the Roman Church in the administration of the Sacrament, (such as are Spittle and Salt in Baptism, the five Crosses upon the Altars, and Sacrament of the Eucharist, the holding of that Sacrament over the Priest's head to be adored, the exposing of it in their Churches to be worshipped by the people, the circumgestion and carrying of it abroad in procession upon their *Corpus Christi* day, and to

their sick for the same, the Oil and Chrism in Confirmation, the anointing of the ears, the eyes and noses, the hands and reins of those that are ready to die ; the giving of an ample Chalice and Paten to them that are to be ordained Priests, and many others of this nature, now in use with them,) are of necessity to salvation, to be approved and admitted by all other Churches.

14. That all the Ecclesiastical Observations and Constitutions of the same Church (such as are their laws of forbidding all Priests to marry ; the appointing several orders of Monks, Friars, and Nuns in the Church ; the service of God in an unknown tongue, the saying of a number of *Ave Marias* by tale upon their Chaplets ; the sprinkling of themselves and the dead Bodies with Holy Water, as operative and effectual to the remission of venial sins ; the distinctions of Meats to be held for true Fasting ; the religious Consecration and incensing of Images ; the baptizing of Bells ; the dedicating of divers Holydays for the immaculate Conception, and the bodily Assumption of the blessed Virgin ; and for

Corpus Christi, or Transubstantiation of the Sacrament ; the making of the Apocryphal Books to be as Canonical as any of the rest of the holy and undoubted Scriptures ; the keeping of those Scriptures from the free use and reading of the people ; the approving of their own Latin Translation only ; and divers other matters of the like nature) are to be approved, held, and believed as needful to salvation ; and that whosoever approves them not is out of the Catholic Church, and must be damned.

All which, in their several respects, we hold some to be pernicious, some unnecessary, many false, and many fond, and none of them to be imposed upon any Church or any Christian, as the Roman Catholics do upon all Christians, and all Churches whatsoever, for matters needful to be approved for eternal salvation.

OUR AGREEMENTS.

IF the Roman Catholics would make the Essence of their Church (as we do ours) to consist in these following points, we are to accord with them in the reception and believing of:

1. All the two and twenty Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and the twenty-seven of the New, as the only foundation and perfect Rule of our Faith.

2. All the Apostolical and ancient Creeds, especially those which are commonly called the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of St. Athanasius, all which are clearly deduced out of the Scriptures.

3. All the Decrees of Faith and doctrine set forth as well in the first four General Councils, as in all other Councils, which those first four approved and confirmed, and in the fifth and sixth General Councils besides (than which we find no more to be General), and in all the following Councils that be thereunto

agreeable ; and in all the Anathemas or Condemnations given out by those Councils against Heretics, for the defence of the Catholic Faith.

4. The unanimous and general consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers, and the Universal Church of Christ, in the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and the collection of all necessary matters of Faith, from them during the first six hundred years, and downwards to our own days.

5. In acknowledgement of the Bishop of Rome, if he would rule and be ruled by the ancient Canons of the Church, to be the Patriarch of the West, by right of Ecclesiastical and Imperial Constitution, in such places where the Kings and Governors of those places had received him, and found it behooful for them to make use of his jurisdiction, without any necessary dependence upon him by divine right.

6. In the reception and use of the two blessed Sacraments by our Saviour ; in the Confirmation of those Persons that are to be strengthened in their Christian Faith, by prayer and imposition of hands, according to

the examples of the holy Apostles, and ancient Bishops of the Catholic Church ; in the public and solemn Benediction of Persons that are to be joined together in holy Matrimony ; in public or private Absolution of penitent Sinners ; in the Consecration of Bishops, and the Ordaining of Priests and Deacons for the service of God in his Church, by a *lawful* succession ; and in visiting the Sick, by praying for them, and administering the blessed Sacrament to them, together with a final Absolution of them from their repented Sins.

7. In Commemorating at the Eucharist, the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood, once truly offered for us.

8. In acknowledging his sacramental, spiritual, true, and real Presence there to the Souls of all them, that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to his own Institution in that Holy Sacrament.

9. In giving thanks to God for them that are departed out of this life in the true Faith of Christ's Catholic Church, and in praying to God that they may have a joyful Resurrection, and a perfect consummation of bliss,

both in their bodies and souls, in his eternal kingdom of glory.

10. In the historical and moderate use of painted and true Stories, either for memory or ornament, where there is no danger to have them abused or worshipped with religious honour.

11. In the use of Indulgences, or abating the rigour of the Canons, imposed upon Offenders according to their repentance, and their want of ability to undergo them.

12. In the Administration of the two Sacraments, and other rites of the Church, with ceremonies of decency and order, according to the precept of the Apostle, and the free practice of the ancient Christians.

13. In observing such Holy Days and Times of Fasting, as were in use in the first ages of the Church, or afterwards received upon just grounds, by public and lawful authority.

14. Finally, in the reception of all Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Canons made for the ordering of our Church, and others; which are not repugnant either to the Word of God, or the power of Kings, or the Laws established by *right* authority in any nation.

THE
CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

After having recited the Nicene Creed, the following Articles are thus continued, viz.

13. I MOST firmly receive and embrace the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and all the other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

14. I do receive the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that holy Mother Church doth, and always hath, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them ; neither will I receive and interpret them otherways than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

15. I do also profess, that there are seven Sacraments of the new Law, truly and properly so called, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage, and that they do confer grace ; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, may not be repeated without Sacrilege. I do also receive and admit the received and approved Rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn Administration of the above said Sacraments.

16. I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original Sin and Justification.

17. I do also profess, that in the Mass there is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead ; and that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and

that there is a change made of the whole substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the Wine into the Blood; which change the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

18. I confess also, that under one Kind only, whole and entire Christ, and *a true Sacrament*, is taken and received.

19. I do firmly hold, that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there detained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful.

20. I do likewise believe, that the Saints reigning together with Christ, are to be worshipped and prayed unto; and that they do offer prayers unto God for us; and that their Relics are to be had in veneration.

21. I do most firmly assert, that the Images of Christ, and of the ever Virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration ought to be given to them.

22. I do affirm, that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and

that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people.

23. I do acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

24. I do also, without the least doubt, receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons and Œcumenical Councils, and especially by the holy Synod of Trent; and all things contrary thereunto, and all Heresies whatsoever condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize. This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be saved, which at this time I freely profess, and truly embrace, I will be careful (by the help of God) that the same be retained, and firmly professed, whole and inviolate, as long as I live; and that as much as in me

lies, that it be held, taught, and preached by those under my power, and by such as I shall have charge over in my profession. I the said *N.* promise, vow, and swear :
So help me God, and these his holy Gospels.

BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR'S

SERMON

ON

FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR'S
SERMON
ON
FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

JAMES ii. 24.

You see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.

THAT we are “justified by faith,” St. Paul tells us;* that we are also “justified by “works,” we are told in my text; and both may be true. But that this justification is wrought by faith without works, “to him that “worketh not, but believeth,” saith St. Paul: that this is not wrought without works, St. James is as express for his negative as St. Paul was for his affirmative; and how both these

* Rom. iii. 28; iv. 5; v. 1; x. 10. Gal. ii. 16.

should be true, is something harder to unriddle. But, "*affirmanti incumbit probatio*," "he that affirms must prove;" and, therefore, St. Paul proves his doctrine by the example of Abraham, to whom faith was imputed for righteousness; and, therefore, not by works. And what can be answered to this? Nothing but this, that St. James uses the very same argument to prove that our justification is by works also: "For our father Abraham was justified by works, when he offered up his son Isaac."* Now which of these says true? Certainly both of them; but neither of them have been well understood; insomuch that they have not only made divisions of heart among the faithful, but one party relies on faith to the disparagement of good life, and the other makes works to be the main ground of our hope and confidence, and consequently to exclude the efficacy of faith: the one makes Christian religion a lazy and inactive institution; and the other, a bold presumption on ourselves; while the first tempts us to live like heathens, and the other recalls us to live

* James ii. 9.

the life of Jews ; while one says “ I am of Paul,” and another, “ I am of St. James,” and both of them put it in danger of evacuating the institution and the death of Christ ; one looking on Christ only as a Lawgiver, and the other only as a Saviour. The effects of these are very sad, and by all means to be diverted by all the wise considerations of the Spirit.

My purpose is not with subtle arts to reconcile them that never disagreed ; the two Apostles spake by the same Spirit, and to the same last design, though to differing inter-medial purposes : but because the great end of faith, the design, the definition, the state, the economy of it, is that all believers should not live according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit. Before I fall to the close handling of the text, I shall premise some preliminary considerations, to prepare the way of holiness, to explicate the differing senses of the Apostles, to understand the question and the duty, by removing the causes of the vulgar mistakes of most men in this article ; and then proceed to the main inquiry.

1. That no man may abuse himself or others by mistaking of hard words, spoken in mystery, with allegorical expressions to secret senses, wrapt up in a cloud ; such as are, “ faith, and “ justification, and imputation, and righteousness, and works,” be pleased to consider, that the very word “ faith” is, in Scripture, infinitely ambiguous, insomuch that in the Latin concordances of St. Jerome’s Bible, published by Robert Stephens, you may see no less than twenty-two several senses and acceptations of the word “ faith,” set down with the several places of Scripture referring to them ; to which if, out of my own observation, I could add no more, yet these are an abundant demonstration, that whatsoever is said of the efficacy of faith for justification, is not to be taken in such a sense as will weaken the necessity and our carefulness of good life, when the word may, in so many other senses, be taken to verify the affirmation of St. Paul, of “ justification by faith,” so as to reconcile it to “ the necessity of obedience.”

2. As it is in the word “ faith,” so it is in “ works ;” for by works is meant sometimes

the thing done,—sometimes the labour of doing,—sometimes the good will;—it is sometimes taken for a state of good life,—sometimes for the covenant of works;—it sometimes means the works of the law,—sometimes the works of the Gospel;—sometimes it is taken for a perfect, actual, unsinning obedience,—sometimes for a sincere endeavour to please God;—sometimes they are meant to be such which can challenge the reward as of debt;—sometimes they mean only a disposition of the person to receive the favour and the grace of God. Now since our good works can be but of one kind (for ours cannot be meritorious, ours cannot be without sin all our life, they cannot be such as need no repentance), it is no wonder if we must be justified without works in this sense; for by such works no man living can be justified: and these St. Paul calls the “works of the law,” and sometimes he calls them “our righteousness;” and these are the covenant of works. But because we came into the world to serve God, and God will be obeyed, and Jesus Christ came into the world to save us from sin, and “to redeem

“to himself a people zealous of good works,” and hath, to this purpose, revealed to us all his Father’s will, and destroyed the works of the devil, and gives us his Holy Spirit, and by him we shall be justified in this obedience ; therefore, when works signify a sincere, hearty endeavour to keep all God’s commands, out of a belief in Christ, that if we endeavour to do so, we shall be helped by his grace, and if we really do so, we shall be pardoned for what is past, and if we continue to do so, we shall receive a crown of glory ;—therefore, it is no wonder that it is said we are to be justified by works ; always meaning, not the works of the law, that is, works that are meritorious, works that can challenge the reward, works that need no mercy, no repentance, no humiliation, and no appeal to grace and favour ;—but always meaning works, that are an obedience to God by the measures of good will, and a sincere endeavour, and the faith of the Lord Jesus.

3. But thus also it is in the word “justification :” for God is justified, and wisdom is justified, and man is justified, and a sinner is not justified as long as he continues in sin ;

and a sinner is justified when he repents, and when he is pardoned ; and an innocent person is justified when he is declared to be no criminal ; and a righteous man is justified when he is saved ; and a weak Christian is justified when his imperfect services are accepted for the present, and himself thrust forward to more grace ; and he that is justified may be justified more ; and every man that is justified to one purpose, is not so to all ; and faith, in divers senses, gives justification in as many ; and, therefore, though to every sense of faith there is not always a degree of justification in any, yet when the faith is such that justification is the product and correspondent, —as that faith may be imperfect, so the justification is but begun, and either must proceed further, or else, as the faith will die, so the justification will come to nothing. The like observation might be made concerning imputation, and all the words used in this question ; but these may suffice till I pass to other particulars.

4. Not only the word “faith,” but also “charity,” and “godliness,” and “religion,”

signify sometimes particular graces; and sometimes they suppose universally, and mean conjugations and unions of graces, as is evident to them that read the Scriptures with observation. Now when justification is attributed to faith, or salvation to godliness, they are to be understood in the aggregate sense: for, that I may give but one instance of this, when St. Paul speaks of faith as it is a particular grace, and separate from the rest, he also does separate it from all possibility of bringing us to heaven: "Though I have all
 " faith, so that I could remove mountains, and
 " have not charity, I am nothing:"* when faith includes charity, it will bring us to heaven; when it is alone, when it is without charity, it will do nothing at all.

5. Neither can this *φαινόμενον* be solved by saying, that though faith alone does justify, yet when she does justify, she is not alone, but good works must follow; for this is said to no purpose:

1. Because if we be justified by faith alone, the work is done, whether charity does follow

* 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

or no; and, therefore that want of charity cannot hurt us.

2. There can be no imaginable cause why charity and obedience should be at all necessary, if the whole work can be done without it.

3. If obedience and charity be not a condition of our salvation, then it is not necessary to follow faith; but if it be, it does as much as faith, for that is but a part of the condition.

4. If we can be saved without charity and keeping the commandments, what need we trouble ourselves for them? If we cannot be saved without them, then either faith without them does not justify; or if it does, we are never the better, for we may be damned for all that justification.

The consequent of these observations is briefly this:—

1. That no man should fool himself by disputing about the philosophy of justification, and what causality faith hath in it, and whether it be the act of faith that justifies, or the habit? Whether faith as a good work, or faith as an instrument? Whether faith as it is obedience, or faith as it is an access to Christ? Whether

as a hand, or as a heart? Whether by its own innate virtue, or by the efficacy of the object? Whether as a sign, or as a thing signified? Whether by introduction, or by perfection? Whether in the first beginnings, or in its last and best productions? Whether by inherent worthiness, or adventitious imputations? “*Uberiùs ista, quæso :*” (that I may use the words of Cicero*) “*hæc enim spinosiora, prius, ut confitear, me cogunt, quam ut assentiar :*” these things are knotty, and too intricate to do any good; they may amuse us, but never instruct us; and they have already made men careless and confident, disputative and troublesome, proud and uncharitable, but neither wiser nor better. Let us, therefore, leave these weak ways of troubling ourselves or others, and directly look to the theology of it, the direct duty, the end of faith, and the work of faith, the conditions and the instruments of our salvation, the just foundation of our hopes, how our faith can destroy our sin, and how it can unite us unto God;

* *Tuscul. i. 8. Davis.*

how by it we can be made partakers of Christ's death, and imitators of his life. For since it is evident, by the premises, that this article is not to be determined or relied upon by arguing from words of many significations, we must walk by a clearer light, by such plain sayings and dogmatical propositions of Scripture, which evidently teach us our duty, and place our hopes upon that which cannot deceive us, that is, which require obedience, which call upon us to glorify God, and to do good to men, and to keep all God's commandments with diligence and sincerity.

For since the end of our faith is, that we may be disciples and servants of the Lord Jesus, advancing his kingdom here, and partaking of it hereafter; since we are commanded to believe what Christ taught, that it may appear as reasonable as it is necessary to do what he hath commanded; since faith and works are in order one to the other, it is impossible that evangelical faith and evangelical works should be opposed one to the other in the effecting of our salvation. So that as it is to no purpose for Christians to dispute

whether we are justified by faith or the works of the law, that is, the covenant of works, without the help of faith and the auxiliaries and allowances of mercy on God's part, and repentance on ours; because no Christian can pretend to this,—so it is perfectly foolish to dispute whether Christians are to be justified by faith, or the works of the Gospel; for I shall make it appear that they are both the same thing. No man disparages faith but he that says, faith does not work righteousness; for he that says so, says indeed it cannot justify; for he says that faith is alone: it is “faith only,” and the words of my text are plain: “You see,” saith St. James, that is, it is evident to your sense, it is as clear as an ocular demonstration, “that a man is justified “by works, and not by faith only.”

My text hath in it these two propositions: a negative and an affirmative. The negative is this, 1. “By faith only” a man is not justified. The affirmative, 2. “By works also” a man is justified.

When I have briefly discoursed of these, I shall only add such practical considerations as

shall make the doctrines useful, and tangible, and material.

1. By faith only a man is not justified. By *faith only*, here is meant, faith without obedience. For what do we think of those that detain the faith in unrighteousness? They have faith, they could not else keep it in so ill a cabinet: but yet the Apostle reckons them amongst the reprobates; for the abominable, the reprobates, and the disobedient, are all one; and, therefore, such persons, for all their faith, shall have no part with faithful Abraham: for none are his children but they that do the works of Abraham. Abraham's faith, without Abraham's works, is nothing; for of him "that hath faith, and hath not works," St. James asks, "Can faith save him?"* meaning, that it is impossible. For what think we of those, that did miracles in Christ's name, and in his name cast out devils? Have not they faith? Yes, "*omnem fidem*," "all "faith," that is, alone, for "they could remove mountains:" but yet to many of them Christ will say, "Depart from me, ye workers

* Chap. ii. 14.

“of iniquity ; I know you not.” Nay, at last, what think we of the devils themselves ? Have not they faith ? Yes ; and this faith is not “*fides miraculorum*” neither ; but it is an operative faith, it works a little ; for it makes them tremble ; and it may be, that is more than thy faith does to thee : and yet dost thou hope to be saved by a faith that does less to thee than the devil’s faith does to him ? That is impossible. For “faith without works “is dead,” saith St. James. It is “*manus arida,*” saith St. Austin ; “it is a withered hand ;”—and that which is dead cannot work the life of grace in us, much less obtain eternal life for us. In short, a man may have faith, and yet do the works of unrighteousness ; he may have faith and be a devil ; and then what can such a faith do to him or for him ? It can do him no good in the present constitution of affairs. St. Paul, from whose mistaken words much noise hath been made in this question, is clear in this particular : “Nothing in Christ Jesus can avail, but faith “working by charity ;”* that is, as he ex-

* Gal. v. 6.

pounds himself once and again, “nothing but
“a new creature, nothing but keeping the
“commandments of God.”* If faith be de-
fined to be any thing that does not change
our natures, and make us to be a new creation
unto God ; if keeping the commandments be
not in the definition of faith, it avails nothing
at all. Therefore deceive not yourselves;
they are the words of our blessed Lord himself:
“Not every one that saith unto me, Lord,
“Lord,” that is, not every one that confesses
Christ, and believes in him, calling Christ
Master and Lord, shall be saved ; “but he
“that doth the will of my Father which is in
“heaven.” These things are so plain, that
they need no commentary ; so evident, that
they cannot be denied : and to these I add
but this one truth, that faith alone without a
good life is so far from justifying a sinner, that
it is one of the greatest aggravations of his
condemnation in the whole world. For no
man can be so greatly damned as he that hath
faith ; for unless he knows his Master’s will,
that is, by faith be convinced, and assents to

* Gal. vi. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 19.

the revelations of the will of God, "he can
 "be beaten but with few stripes:" but he that
 believes, hath no excuse; he is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*,
 "condemned by the sentence of his own
 "heart," and, therefore, *πολλαὶ πληγαὶ*,
 "many stripes," the greater condemnation
 shall be his portion. Natural reason is a light
 to the conscience, but faith is a greater; and,
 therefore, if it be not followed, it damns deeper
 than the hell of the infidels and uninstructed.
 And so I have done with the negative propo-
 sition of my text; a man is not justified by
 faith alone, that is, by faith which hath not in
 it charity and obedience.

2. If faith alone will not do it, what will?
 The affirmative part of the text answers, not
 faith alone; but works must be an ingredient:
 "a man is justified by works;" and that is
 now to be explicated and proved. It will be
 absolutely to no purpose to say that faith alone
 does justify, if, when a man is justified, he is
 never the nearer to be saved. Now that
 without obedience no man can go to heaven,
 is so evident in holy Scripture, that he that
 denies it, hath no faith. "There is no peace,

“saith my God, unto the wicked;”* and
 “I will not justify a sinner,”† saith God;
 unless faith purges away our sins, it can never
 justify. Let a man believe all the revelations
 of God; if that belief ends in itself, and goes
 no further, it is like physic taken to purge the
 stomach; if it do not work, it is so far from
 bringing health, that itself is a new sickness.
 Faith is a great purger and purifier of the soul,
 “purifying your hearts by faith,” saith the
 Apostle. It is the best physic in the world
 for a sinful soul; but if it does not work, it
 corrupts in the stomach, it makes us to rely
 upon weak propositions and trifling confidences,
 it is but a dreaming *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*,
 “a phantastic dream,” and introduces pride
 or superstition, swelling thoughts and pre-
 sumptions of the Divine favour: but what
 saith the Apostle? “Follow peace with all
 “men, and holiness, without which no man
 “can see God:”† mark that. If faith does
 not make you charitable and holy, talk no
 more of justification by it, for you shall never

* Isaiah lvii. 21. † Exod. xxv. 7.

‡ Heb. xii. 14.

see the glorious face of God. Faith indeed is a title and relation to Christ; it is a naming of his names; but what then? Why then, saith the Apostle, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity."

For let any man consider, can the faith of Christ and the hatred of God stand together? Can any man be justified, that does not love God? Or can any man love God and sin at the same time? And does not he love sin, that falls under its temptation, and obeys it in the lusts thereof, and delights in the vanity, and makes excuses for it, and returns to it with passion, and abides with pleasure? This will not do it; such a man cannot be justified for all his believing. But, therefore, the Apostle shows us a more excellent way: "This is a true saying, and I will that thou affirm constantly, that they who have believed in God, be careful to maintain good works."* The Apostle puts great force on this doctrine, he arms it with a double preface; the saying is "true," and it is to be "constantly affirmed;" that is, it is not only true, but necessary; it

* Titus iii. 8.

is like Pharaoh's dream, doubled, because it is bound upon us by the decree of God ; and it is unalterably certain, that every believer must do good works, or his believing will signify little ; nay more than so, every man must be careful to do good works ; and more yet, he must carefully maintain them ; that is, not do them by fits and interrupted returns, but *πρόστασθαι*, to be incumbent upon them, to dwell upon them, to maintain good works, that is, to persevere in them. But I am yet but in the general : be pleased to go along with me in these particular considerations.

1. No man's sins are pardoned, but in the same measure in which they are mortified, destroyed, and taken away ; so that if faith does not cure our sinful natures, it never can justify, it never can procure our pardon. And therefore it is, that as soon as ever faith in the Lord Jesus was preached, at the same time also they preached repentance from dead works : insomuch that St. Paul reckons it among the fundamentals and first principles of Christianity ;* nay, the Baptist preached

* Heb. vi. 1.

repentance and amendment of life as a preparation to the faith of Christ. And I pray consider ; can there be any forgiveness of sins without repentance ? But if an Apostle should preach forgiveness to all that believe, and this belief did not also mean that they should repent and forsake their sin,—the sermons of the Apostle would make Christianity nothing else but the sanctuary of Romulus, a device to get together all the wicked people of the world, and to make them happy without any change of manners. Christ came to other purposes ; he came “to sanctify us and to “cleanse us by his word :” * the word of faith was not for itself, but was a design of holiness, and the very “grace of God did appear,” for this end ; that “teaching us to deny all “ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should “live holily, justly, and soberly in this present “world :” † he came to gather a people together ; not like David’s army, when Saul pursued him, but the armies of the Lord, “a faithful people, a chosen generation ;” and what is that ? The Spirit of God adds,

* 1 John iii. 8.

† Eph. v. 25. Tit. ii. 11.

“a people zealous of good works.” Now as Christ proved his power to forgive sins, by curing the poor man’s palsy, because a man is never pardoned, but when the punishment is removed ; so the great act of justification of a sinner, the pardoning of his sins, is then only effected, when the spiritual evil is taken away : that is the best indication of a real and an eternal pardon, when God takes away the hardness of the heart, the love of sin, the accursed habit, the evil inclination, the sin that doth so easily beset us : and when that is gone, what remains within us that God can hate ? Nothing stays behind, but God’s creation, the work of his own hands, the issues of his Holy Spirit. The faith of a Christian is *πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀναιρετική*, “it destroys the “whole body of sin ;” and to suppose that Christ pardons a sinner, whom he doth not also purge and rescue from the dominion of sin, is to affirm that he justifies the wicked ; that he calls good evil, and evil good ; that he delights in a wicked person ; that he makes a wicked man all one with himself ; that he makes the members of an harlot at the same

time also the members of Christ : but all this is impossible, and, therefore, ought not to be pretended to by any Christian. Severe are those words of our blessed Saviour, “ Every “ plant in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh “ away :” * faith ingrafts us into Christ ; by faith we are inserted into the vine ; but the plant that is ingrafted, must also be parturient and fruitful, or else it shall be quite cut off from the root, and thrown into the everlasting burning : and this is the full and plain meaning of those words so often used in Scripture for the magnification of faith, “ The just shall “ live by faith :” no man shall live by faith but the just man ; he indeed is justified by faith, but no man else ; the unjust and the unrighteous man hath no portion in this matter. That is the first great consideration in this affair ; no man is justified in the least sense of justification, that is, when it means nothing but the pardon of sins, but when his sin is mortified and destroyed.

2. No man is actually justified, but he that is in some measure sanctified. For the under-

* John xv. 2.

standing and clearing of which proposition we must know, that justification, when it is attributed to any cause, does not always signify justification actual. Thus, when it is said in Scripture, “We are justified by the death of “Christ,” it is but the same thing as to say, “Christ died for us ;” and he rose again for us too, that we might indeed be justified in due time, and by just measures and dispositions ; “he died for our sins, and rose again “for our justification ;” that is, by his death and resurrection, he hath obtained this power, and effected this mercy, that if we believe him and obey, we shall be justified and made capable of all the blessings of the kingdom. But that this is no more but a capacity of pardon, of grace, and of salvation, appears not only by God’s requiring obedience as a condition on our parts, but by his expressly attributing this mercy to us at such times, and in such circumstances, in which it is certain and evident, that we could not actually be justified ; for so saith the Scripture : “We, when we “were enemies, were reconciled to God by “the death of his Son ; and while we were

“yet sinners, Christ died for us;”* that is, then was our justification wrought on God’s part; that is, then he intended this mercy to us, then he resolved to show us favour, to give us promises, and laws, and conditions, and hopes, and an infallible economy of salvation; and when faith lays hold on this grace, and this justification, then we are to do the other part of it; that is, as God made it potential by the death and resurrection of Christ, so we, laying hold on these things by faith, and working the righteousness of faith, that is, performing what is required on our parts, we, I say, make it actual; and for this very reason it is, that the Apostle puts more emphasis upon the resurrection of Christ than upon his death. “Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.”† And “Christ was both delivered for our sins, and is risen again for our justification;”‡ implying to us, that as it is in the principal, so it is in the correspondent; our sins indeed are potentially

* Rom. v. 8, 10.

† Rom. viii. 28.

‡ Rom. iv. 25.

pardoned, when they are marked out for death and crucifixion; when, by resolving and fighting against sin, we die to sin daily, and are so made conformable to his death; but we must partake of Christ's resurrection before this justification can be actual; when we are "dead to sin, and are risen again unto righteousness," then, as we are "partakers of his death," so we shall "be partakers of his resurrection," saith St. Paul; that is, then we are truly, effectually, and indeed justified; till then we are not.

"He that loveth gold, shall not be justified," saith the wise Bensirach;* he that is covetous, let his faith be what it will, shall not be accounted righteous before God, because he is not so in himself, and he is not so in Christ, for he is not in Christ at all; he hath no righteousness in himself, and he hath none in Christ; for if we be in Christ, or "if Christ be in us, the body is dead by reason of sin, and the spirit is life because of righteousness:"† for this the τὸ πιστὸν, "that faithful thing," that is, the faithfulness is

* Ecclus. xxxi.

† Rom. viii. 10.

manifested; the “emun,” from whence comes “emunah,” which is the Hebrew word for “faith,” from whence “amen” is derived. “Fiat quod dictum est hinc inde; hoc fidum est;” when God and we both say amen to our promises and undertakings. “Fac fidelis sis fideli; cave fidem fluxam geras,” said he in the comedy;* God is faithful, be thou so too; for if thou failest him, thy faith hath failed thee. “Fides sumitur pro eo, quod est inter utrumque placitum,” says one; and then it is true which the Prophet and the Apostle said, “the just shall live by faith,” in both senses: “ex fide mea vivet, ex fide sua:” “we live by God’s faith, and by our own;” by his fidelity, and by ours. When the righteousness of God becomes “your righteousness, and exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees;” when the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us, “by walking not after the flesh, but after the Spirit;” then we are justified by God’s truth and by ours, by his grace and our obedience. So that now we see that justification

* Plaut. Captiv. act ii. scen. 3. 79.

and sanctification cannot be distinguished, but as words of art signifying the various steps of progression in the same course; they may be distinguished in notion and speculation, but never when they are to pass on to material events; for no man is justified but he that is also sanctified. They are the express words of St. Paul: "Whom he did foreknow, them he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son," to be like to Christ; and then it follows, "Whom he hath predestinated," so predestinated, "them he hath also called, and whom he hath called, them he hath also justified:" and then it follows, "Whom he hath justified, them he hath also glorified."* So that no man is justified, that is, so as to signify salvation, but sanctification must be precedent to it; and that was my second consideration *ὅτι περ ἔδει δεῖξαι*, "that which I was to prove."

3. I pray consider, that he that does not believe the promises of the Gospel, cannot pretend to faith in Christ; but the promises are all made to us upon the conditions of

* Rom. viii. 29.

obedience, and he that does not believe them as Christ made them, believes them not at all. "In well-doing commit yourselves to God as "unto a faithful Creator;" there is no committing ourselves to God without well-doing: "For God will render to every man according "to his deeds: to them that obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath; but to them "who, by patient continuance in well-doing, "seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, "to them eternal life."* So that if faith apprehends any other promises, it is illusion, and not faith; God gave us none such, Christ purchased none such for us; search the Bible over, and you shall find none such. But if faith lays hold on these promises that are, and as they are, then it becomes an article of our faith, that without obedience and a sincere endeavour to keep God's commandments, no man living can be justified: and, therefore, let us take heed, when we magnify the free grace of God, we do not exclude the conditions which this free grace hath set upon us. Christ freely died for us, God pardons us freely in

* Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8.

our first access to him ; we could never deserve pardon, because when we need pardon we are enemies, and have no good thing in us ; and he freely gives us of his Spirit, and freely he enables us to obey him ; and for our little imperfect services he freely and bountifully will give us eternal life ; here is free grace all the way, and he overvalues his pitiful services, who thinks that he deserves heaven by them ; and that if he does his duty tolerably, eternal life is not a free gift to him, but a deserved reward.

Conscius est animus meus, experientia testis,
Mystica quæ retuli dogmata vera scio.
Non tamen idcirco scio me fore glorificandum,
Spes mea crux Christi, gratia, non opera.

It was the mediation of the wise Chancellor of Paris : “ I know that without a good life, “ and the fruits of repentance, a sinner cannot “ be justified ; and, therefore, I must live “ well, or I must die for ever : but if I do “ live holily, I do not think that I deserve “ heaven, it is the cross of Christ that procures “ me grace ; it is the Spirit of Christ that “ gives me grace ; it is the mercy and the

“free gift of Christ that brings me unto
 “glory.” But yet he that shall exclude the
 works of faith from the justification of a sinner
 by the blood of Christ, may as well exclude
 faith itself; for faith itself is one of the works
 of God: it is a good work, so said Christ to
 them that asked him, “What shall we do to
 “work the works of God? Jesus said, This
 “is the work of God, that ye believe on him
 “whom he hath sent.”* Faith is not only
 the foundation of good works, but itself is a
 good work; it is not only the cause of obe-
 dience, but a part of it; it is not only, as
 the son of Sirach calls it, “initium adhæ-
 “rendi Deo,” “a beginning of cleaving unto
 “God,” but it carries us on to the perfection
 of it. Christ is the Author and Finisher of
 our faith; and when faith is finished, a good
 life is made perfect in our kind; let no man
 therefore expect events, for which he hath no
 promise; nor call for God’s fidelity without
 his own faithfulness; nor snatch at a promise
 without performing the condition; nor think
 faith to be a hand to apprehend Christ, and

* John vi. 28, 29.

to do nothing else ; for that will but deceive us, and turn religion into words, and holiness into hypocrisy, and the promises of God into a snare, and the truth of God into a lie. For when God made a covenant of faith, he made also the νόμος πίστεως, “the law of faith ;” and when he admitted us to a covenant of more mercy than was in the covenant of works, or of the law, he did not admit us to a covenant of idleness, and an incurious walking in a state of disobedience ; but the mercy of God leadeth us to repentance, and when he gives us better promises, he intends we should pay him a better obedience : when he forgives us what is past, he intends we should sin no more ; when he offers us his graces, he would have us to make use of them ; when he causes us to distrust ourselves, his meaning is we should rely upon him ; when he enables us to do what he commands us, he commands us to do all that we can. And, therefore, this covenant of faith and mercy is also a covenant of holiness, and the grace that pardons us does also purify us : for so saith the Apostle, “ He that hath this hope purifies himself, even

“as God is pure.” And when we are so, then we are justified indeed ; this is the νόμος πίστεως, “the law of faith ;” and by works in this sense, that is, by the works of faith, by faith working by love, and producing fruits worthy of amendment of life, we are justified before God. And so I have done with the affirmative proposition of my text : you see that “a man is justified by works.”

But there is more in it than this matter yet amounts to: for St. James does not say, “we are justified by works, and are not justified by faith ;” that had been irreconcilable with St. Paul ; but we are so justified by works, that it is not by faith alone ; it is faith and works together : that is, it is by the ὑπακοή πίστεως, “by the obedience of faith,” by the works of faith, by the law of faith, by righteousness evangelical, by the conditions of the Gospel, and the measures of Christ. I have many things to say in this particular ; but because I have but a little time to say them in, I will sum it all up in this proposition, that in the question of justification and salvation, faith and good works are no part of a

distinction, but members of one entire body. Faith and good works together work the righteousness of God : that is, that I may speak plainly, justifying faith contains in it obedience ; and if this be made good, then the two Apostles are reconciled to each other, and both of them to the necessity, the indispensable necessity of a good life.

Now that justifying and saving faith must be defined by something more than an act of understanding, appears not only in this, that St. Peter reckons faith as distinctly from knowledge as he does from patience, or strength, or brotherly kindness ; saying “ Add “ to your faith, virtue ; to virtue, knowledge ; ” * but in this also, because an error in life, and whatsoever is against holiness, is against faith : and, therefore, St. Paul reckons the lawless and the disobedient, murderers of parents, man-stealing, and such things, to be against sound doctrines ; for the doctrine of faith is called ἡ κατ’ εὐτέλειαν διδασκαλία, “ the doctrine that is according to godliness.” And when St. Paul prays against ungodly men, he

* 2 Pet. i. 5.

adds this reasons, οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις, “for all men have not faith :”* meaning that wicked men are infidels and unbelievers ; and particularly he affirms of him “that does not “provide for his own, that he hath denied the “faith.”† Now from hence it follows that faith is godliness, because all wickedness is infidelity, it is an apostacy from the faith. “Ille erit, ille nocens qui me tibi fecerat “hostem ;” he that sins against God, he is the enemy to the faith of Jesus Christ ; and therefore we deceive ourselves, if we place faith in the understanding only ; it is not that, and it does not dwell there, but ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, saith the Apostle ; the mystery of faith is kept no where, it dwells no where but “in a pure conscience.”

For I consider, that, since all moral habits are best defined by their operation, we can best understand what faith is by seeing what it does. To this purpose hear St. Paul : “By faith, Abel offered up to God a more “excellent sacrifice than Cain. By faith, “Noah made an ark. By faith, Abraham left

* 2 Thess. iii. 2. † 1 Tim. v. 8.

“his country, and offered up his son. By
 “faith, Moses chose to suffer affliction, and
 “accounted the reproach of Christ greater
 “than all the riches of Egypt.”* In short,
 the children of God, “by faith subdued
 “kingdoms, and wrought righteousness.”
 To work righteousness is as much the duty
 and work of faith as believing is. So that
 now we may quickly make an end of this
 great inquiry, whether a man is justified by
 faith, or by works, for he is so by both: if
 you take it alone, faith does not justify: but
 take it in the aggregate sense, as it is used in
 the question of justification by St. Paul, and
 then faith does not only justify, but it sancti-
 fies too; and then you need to inquire no
 further; obedience is a part of the definition of
 faith, as much as it is of charity. This is love,
 saith St. John, “that we keep his command-
 “ments.” And the very same is affirmed of
 faith too by Bensirach, “He that believeth
 “the Lord, will keep his commandments.”†

I have now done with all the propositions
 expressed and implied in the text. Give me

* Heb. xi.

† Eccus. xxxii. 24.

leave to make some practical considerations; and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

The rise I take from the words of St. Epiphanius,* speaking in praise of the apostolical and purest ages of the church. There was, at first, no distinction of sects and opinions in the church: she knew no difference of men, but good and bad; there was no séparation made, but what was made by piety or impiety, or, says he, which is all one, by fidelity and infidelity; πίστις μὲν ἐπέχουσα τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ εἰκόνα· ἀπιστία δὲ ἐπέχουσα τὸν ἀσεβείας χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρανομίας· “for faith hath in it the image of godliness
“engraven, and infidelity hath the character
“of wickedness and prevarication.” A man was not then esteemed a saint, for disobeying his Bishop or an Apostle, nor for misunderstanding the hard sayings of St. Paul about predestination; to kick against the laudable customs of the church, was not then accounted a note of the godly party; and to despise government was but an ill mark and weak indication of being a good Christian. The

* Panar, lib. i. edit. Basil. p. 8. l. 46.

kingdom of God did not then consist in words, but in power, the power of godliness ; though now we are fallen into another method ; we have turned all religion into faith, and our faith is nothing but the productions of interest or disputing,—it is adhering to a party, and a wrangling against all the world beside ; and when it is asked what religion he is of, we understand the meaning to be, what faction does he follow : what are the articles of his sect, not what is the manner of his life : and if men be zealous for their party and that interest, then they are precious men, though otherwise they be covetous as the grave, factious as Dathan, schismatical as Corah, or proud as the fallen angels. Alas ! these things will but deceive us ; the faith of a Christian cannot consist in strifes about words, and perverse disputings of men. These things the Apostle calls “ profane and vain babblings ; ”* and, mark what he says of them, these things will increase ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσεβείας. They are, in themselves, ungodlinesss, and will produce more,—“ they will increase unto

* 2 Tim. ii. 16.

“more ungodliness.” But the faith of a Christian had other measures ; that was faith then, which made men faithful to their vows in baptism. The faith of a Christian was the best security in contracts, and a Christian’s word was as good as his bond, because he was faithful that promised, and a Christian would rather die than break his word, and was always true to his trust ; he was faithful to his friend, and loved as Jonathan did David. This was the Christian faith then : their religion was, to hurt no man, and to do good to every man, and so it ought to be. “ True religion is to “ visit the fatherless and widow, and to keep “ ourselves unspotted of the world.” That is a good religion, that is “ pure and undefiled.” So St. James : and St. Chrysostom defines εὐσέβειαν, “ true religion,” to be πίστιν καθαρὰν καὶ ὀρθὸν βίον, “ a pure faith and a “ godly life ;” for they make up the whole mystery of godliness ; and no man could then pretend to faith, but he that did do valiantly, and suffer patiently, and resist the devil, and overcome the world. These things are as properly the actions of faith, as alms is of

charity; and, therefore, they must enter into the moral definition of it. And this was truly understood by Salvian, that wise and godly priest of Massilia: what is faith, and what is believing, saith he; "*hominem fideliter Christo credere est fidelem Deo esse, h. e. fideliter Dei mandata servare:*" "That man does faithfully believe in Christ, who is faithful unto God,—who faithfully keeps God's commandments;" and, therefore, let us measure our faith here, by our faithfulness to God, and by our diligence to do our Master's commandments; for "*Christianorum omnis religio sine scelere et maculâ vivere,*" said Lactantius; "The whole religion of a Christian is to live unblameably,"* that is, in all holiness and purity of conversation.

2. When our faith is spoken of as the great instrument of justification and salvation, take Abraham's faith as your best pattern, and that will end the dispute, because that he was justified by faith, when his faith was mighty in effect; when he trusted in God, when he believed the promises, when he ex-

* Instit. lib. v. c. 9.

pected a resurrection of the dead, when he was strong in faith, when he gave glory to God, when, against hope, he believed in hope; and when all this passed into an act of a most glorious obedience, even denying his greatest desires, contradicting his most passionate affections, offering to God the best thing he had, and exposing to death his beloved Isaac, his laughters, all his joy, at the command of God. By this faith he was justified, saith St. Paul; "by these works he was justified," saith St. James; that is, by this faith working this obedience. And then all the difficulty is over; only remember this, your faith is weak, and will do but little for you, if it be not stronger than all your secular desires and all your peevish angers. Thus we find, in the holy Gospels, this conjunction declared necessary, "Whatsoever things ye desire, "when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, "and ye shall have them."* Here is as glorious an event promised to faith as can be expressed; faith shall obtain any thing of God. True; but it is not faith alone, but

* Mark xii. 24.

faith in prayer; faith praying, not faith simply believing. So St. James; the “prayer of “faith shall save the sick;” but adds, it must be “the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous “man;” so that faith shall prevail, but there must be prayer in faith, and fervour in prayer, and devotion in fervour, and righteousness in devotion; and then impute the effect to faith if you please, provided that it be declared, that effect cannot be wrought by faith, unless it be so qualified. But Christ adds one thing more: “When ye stand praying, forgive; “but if ye will not forgive, neither will your “Father forgive you.” So that it will be to no purpose to say a man is justified by faith, unless you mingle charity with it; for without the charity of forgiveness, there can be no pardon, and then justification is but a word, when it effects nothing.

3. Let every one take heed, that by an importune adhering to and relying upon a mistaken faith, he do not really make a shipwreck of a right faith. Hymenæus and Alexander lost their faith by putting away a good conscience; and what matter is it of what

religion or faith a man be of, if he be a villain and a cheat, a man of no truth, and of no trust, a lover of the world, and not a lover of God? But, I pray, consider, can any man have faith that denies God? That is not possible: and cannot a man as well deny God by an evil action, as by an heretical proposition? Cannot a man deny God by works, as much as by words? Hear what the Apostle says: "They profess that they know God, "but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."* Disobedience is a denying God. "Nolumus hunc regnare," is as plain a renouncing of Christ, as "Nolumus huic credere." It is to no purpose to say we believe in Christ and have faith, unless Christ reign in our hearts by faith.

4. From these premises we may see but too evidently, that though a great part of mankind pretend to be saved by faith, yet they know not what it is, or else wilfully mistake it, and place their hopes upon sand, or the more unstable water. Believing is the

* Tit. i. 16.

least thing in a justifying faith ; for faith is a conjugation of many ingredients, and faith is a covenant, faith is a law, and faith is obedience, and faith is a work, and indeed it is a sincere cleaving to and closing with the terms of the Gospel in every instance, in every particular. Alas ! the niceties of a spruce understanding, and the curious nothings of useless speculation, and all the opinions of men that make the divisions of heart, and do nothing else, cannot bring us one drop of comfort in the day of tribulation, and therefore are no parts of the strength of faith. Nay, when a man begins truly to fear God, and is in the agonies of mortification, all these new nothings and curiosities will lie neglected by, as baubles do by children, when they are deadly sick. But that only is faith that makes us to love God, to do his will, to suffer his impositions, to trust his promises, to see through a cloud, to overcome the world, to resist the devil, to stand in the day of trial, and to be comforted in all our sorrows. This is that precious faith so mainly necessary to be insisted on, that by it we may be sons of

the free woman, “*liberi à vitiis ac ritibus* ;” that the true Isaac may be in us, which is Christ according to the Spirit, the wisdom and power of God, a divine vigour and life, whereby we are enabled, with joy and cheerfulness, to walk in the way of God. By this you may try your faith, if you please, and make an end of this question : Do you believe in the Lord Jesus, yea or no ? God forbid else ; but if your faith be good, it will abide the trial. There are but three things that make the integrity of Christian faith ; believing the words of God, confidence in his goodness, and keeping his commandments.

For the first, it is evident that every man pretends to it ; if he calls himself Christian, he believes all that is in the canon of the Scriptures ; and if he did not, he were indeed no Christian. But now consider, what think we of this proposition ? “ All shall be “ damned who believe not the truth, but have “ pleasure in unrighteousness.”* Does not every man believe this ? Is it possible they can believe there is any such thing as un-

* 1 Thess. . 12.

righteousness in the world, or any such thing as damnation, and yet commit that which the Scriptures call unrighteousness, and which all laws and all good men say is so? Consider how many unrighteous men there are in the world, and yet how few of them think they shall be damned. I know not how it comes to pass, but men go upon strange principles, and they have made Christianity to be a very odd institution, if it had not better measures than they are pleased to afford it. There are two great roots of all evil, covetousness and pride, and they have infected the greatest parts of mankind, and yet no man thinks himself to be either covetous or proud; and, therefore, whatever you discourse against these sins, it never hits any man, but, like Jonathan's arrows to David, they fall short, or they fly beyond. Salvian complained of it in his time: "*Hoc ad crimina nostra*" "*addimus, ut cum in omnibus rei simus,*" "*etiam bonos nos et sanctos esse credamus:*" "*This we add unto our crimes, we are the*" "*vilest persons in the world, and yet we*" "*think ourselves to be good people,*" and,

when we die, make no question but we shall go to heaven.* There is no cause of this, but because we have not so much faith as believing comes to; and yet most men will pretend not only to believe, but to love Christ all this while. And how do they prove this? Truly they hate the memory of Judas, and curse the Jews that crucified Christ, and think Pilate a very miserable man, and that all the Turks are damned, and to be called Caiaphas is a word of reproach; and, indeed, there are many that do not much more for Christ than this comes to; things to as little purpose, and of as little signification. But so the Jews did hate the memory of Corah as we do of Caiaphas, and they built the sepulchre of the Prophets; and we also are angry at them that killed the Apostles and the Martyrs; but, in the mean time, we neither love Christ nor his Saints; for we neither obey him, nor imitate them. And yet we should think ourselves highly injured, if one should call us infidels, and haters of Christ. But, I pray, consider; what is hating

* Lib. iii.

of any man, but designing and doing him all the injury and spite we can? Does not he hate Christ that dishonours him, that makes Christ's members the members of an harlot, that doth not feed and clothe these members? If the Jews did hate Christ when they crucified him, then so does a Christian too, when he crucifies him again. Let us not deceive ourselves; a Christian may be damned as well as a Turk; and Christians may with as much malice crucify Christ, as the Jews did: and so does every man that sins wilfully; he spills the blood of Christ, making it to be spent in vain. "He that hateth you, hateth me; he that receives you, receives me;" said Christ to his Apostles. I wish the world had so much faith as to believe that; and by this try whether we love Christ, and believe in him, or no. I shall, for the trial of our faith, ask one easy question: Do we believe that the story of David and Jonathan is true? Have we so much faith as to think it possible that two rivals of a crown should love so dearly? Can any man believe this, and not be infinitely ashamed to see Christians, almost

all Christians, to be irreconcilably angry, and ready to pull their brother's heart out, when he offers to take our land or money from us? Why do almost all men that go to law for right, hate one another's persons? Why cannot men with patience hear their titles questioned? But, if Christianity be so excellent a religion, why are so very many Christians so very wicked? Certainly they do not so much as believe the propositions and principles of their own religion. For the body of Christians is so universally wicked, that it would be a greater change to see Christians generally live according to their profession, than it was at first from infidelity to see them to turn believers. The conversion from Christian to Christian, from Christian in title to Christian in sincerity, would be a greater miracle than it was, when they were converted from heathen and Jew to Christian, What is the matter? Is not "repentance "from dead works" reckoned by St. Paul* as one of the fundamental points of Christian religion? Is it not a piece of our catechism,

* Heb. vi.

the first thing we are taught, and is it not the last thing that we practise? We had better be without baptism than without repentance, and yet both are necessary ; and, therefore, if we were not without faith, we should be without neither. Is not repentance a forsaking all sin, and an entire returning unto God? Who can deny this? And is it not plainly said in Scripture, “ Unless ye repent, ye shall “ all perish?” But show me the man that believes these things heartily ; that is, show me a true penitent ; he only believes the doctrines of repentance.

If I had time, I should examine your faith by your confidence in God, and by your obedience. But, if we fall in the mere believing, it is not likely we should do better in the other. But because all the promises of God are conditional, and there can be no confidence in the particular without a promise or revelation, it is not possible that any man that does not live well, should reasonably put his trust in God. To live a wicked life, and then to be confident that in the day of our death God will give us pardon, is not faith,

but a direct want of faith. If we did believe the promises upon their proper conditions, or believe that God's commandments were righteous and true, or that the threatenings were as really intended as they are terribly spoken,—we should not dare to live at the rate we do. But “wicked men have not faith,” saith St. Paul; and then the wonder ceases.

But there are such palpable contradictions between men's practices and the fundamentals of our faith, that it was a material consideration of our blessed Saviour, “When the Son of Man comes, shall he find faith upon earth?” meaning it should be very hard and scant: “Every man shall boast of his own goodness; ‘sed virum fidelem,’ (saith Solomon,) but ‘a faithful man,’ who can find?” Some men are very good when they are afflicted.

Hanc tibi virtutem fractâ facit urceus ansâ,
 Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus;
 Et teges et cimex, et nudi sponda grabati,
 Et brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga.*

When the gown of the day is the mantle

* Martial. xi. 57.

of the night, and cannot, at the same time, cover the head, and make the feet warm; when they have but one broken dish and no spoon, then they are humble and modest; then they can suffer an injury and bear contempt: but give them riches, and they grow insolent; fear and pusillanimity did their first work, and an opportunity to sin undoes it all. “*Bonum militem perdidisti, imperatorem pessimum creâsti,*” said Galba: “You have spoiled a good trooper, when you made me a bad commander.” Others can never serve God but when they are prosperous; if they lose their fortune, they lose their faith, and quit their charity: “*Non rata fides, ubi jam melior fortuna ruit;*” if they become poor, they become liars and deceivers of their trust, envious and greedy, restless and uncharitable; that is, one way or other they show that they love the world, and by all the faith they pretend to, cannot overcome it.

Cast up, therefore, your reckonings impartially; see what is, what will be required at your hands: do not think you can be justified

by faith, unless your faith be greater than all your passions; you have not the learning, not so much as the common notices of faith, unless you can tell when you are covetous, and reprove yourself when you are proud; but he that is so, and knows it not (and that is the case of most men), hath no faith, and neither knows God, nor knows himself.

To conclude. He that hath true justifying faith, believes the power of God to be above the powers of nature; the goodness of God above the merit and disposition of our persons; the bounty of God above the excellency of our works; the truth of God above the contradiction of our weak arguings and fears; the love of God above our cold experience and ineffectual reason; and the necessities of doing good works above the faint excuses and ignorant pretences of disputing sinners: but want of faith makes us so generally wicked as we are, so often running to despair, so often baffled in our resolutions of a good life: but he whose faith makes him more than conqueror over these difficulties, to him Isaac

shall be born even in his old age ; the life of God shall be perfectly wrought in him ; and by this faith, so operative, so strong, so lasting, so obedient, he shall be justified, and he shall be saved.

FINIS.

 ERRATA.

Contents, page x, line 24, for *confession* read *concession*.

Page 21, line 2, for *principle* read *principal*.

Page 277, line 2, for *horreo* read *horresco*.

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